

Maclean's

A HINT
OF HOPE IN
THE GULF

The Lonely Road Home

JEAN CHRETIEN'S
BATTLE TO
FIND HIMSELF

THE LIBERAL LEADER
FIGHTS TO RETURN
TO THE COMMONS





Black can add brilliance to the holidays.



Ultimately, there's Black.

Maclean's

CANADA'S WEEKLY NEWSMAGAZINE DECEMBER 10, 1990 VOL. 183 NO. 50

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COVER

THE LONELY ROAD HOME

On Dec. 10, voters in New Brunswick's New Brunswick riding will decide if Liberal Leader Jean Chretien goes to Ottawa as their MP. But as Chretien worked the campaign trail, his party remained hampered by sagging popularity, a lack of clear-cut policies—and what some observers say has been a lacklustre performance by Chretien since he won the party leadership in June. —18



WORLD

A HINT OF HOPE

The UN Security Council, with Canada's Joe Clark in the majority, last week voted 12 to 2 to use "all means necessary" to end Saddam Hussein's occupation of Kuwait and set a Jan. 15 deadline for Iraqi withdrawal. But President George Bush's offer of direct talks raised hopes of a diplomatic solution. —28



CANADA

QUEBEC SEEKS ITS OWN WAY

Commissioners who are canvassing the public's views on Quebec's future relations with Canada are hearing increasingly strident calls for political sovereignty. At the same time, Premier Robert Bourassa's shrewd while in a Mayland cancer clinic has left the federalist cause adrift. —12



LETTERS

'SOUL-SEARCHING' COMMISSION

The newly appointed Spicer commission is clearly doomed to failure ("What does Canada want?" *Canada/Cover*, Nov. 12). We are going to get the society-policy treatment from a panel of experts who will visit Canadians to find a little soul-searching in the subject of national unity. Despite the idealistic phrases about nation building and a vision of a future for our country, most Canadians are likely to look upon the Spicer commission as yet another attempt to mollify Quebec.

Guyton Prosser,
Capehorn, B.C.

Describing the Spicer commission, you conclude that Canada is "a nation without" in the post of education by its own decisions ("Who says so?" *Let me. My friends are out. Now it is the people's turn*). I, therefore, strongly support the *Claremont Review* on Canada's Future. Please change to Keith Spicer.

George Marling,
Toronto

FOOD MARKETING WAR

I was disappointed by your report contrasting food prices and marketing boards ("Family food fights," *Business*, Nov. 18). Why did you put fixation eggs, milk and chicken? Would you not have found the same discrepancies in other products? How do you produce statistics comparing milk processors? What about the disposable incomes of consumers? The truth is that, over the past five years, farm gate prices have been declining while there has been a steady and accelerating increase in the consumer price index. Do you really believe that the farmer is contributing to their increased? No wonder there is public cynicism.

R. Edward McGill,
Pahremont, Ont.

In 1990, I lost money in vegetable production and made money in egg-hatching production. Guess which one is supply managed? Only those Canadian farmers that are under supply management seem to be making money. It seems that some people never see Canadian farmers to make money.

Alfred And,
Atleford, B.C.

PRASE FOR 'HIGH STANDARDS'

I want to commend Macdon's for consistently high standards of documentary photography and editorial direction. In particular, Brian Wilce and Roy Thomson produce outstanding work on a weekly basis. The recent cover illustration of Margaret Thatcher



Keith Spicer 'society-policy treatment'

("Stepping out," Nov. 20) is one of your best covers in recent memory. Peterson's drawing goes beyond stock photography to create a portrait that is at once dynamic and thoughtful.

Alfred Maynard,
President, Society of Graphic Designers of Canada,
Toronto

PASSAGES

MARRIED: The Rolling Stones' Mick Jagger, 47, and his girlfriend of 12 years, model Jerry Hall, 34, in a secret ceremony on Nov. 21. The marriage, announced last week, is Jagger's second, 18th for Hall. The couple, who are married in the Indianapolis of Rob Lowe, according to "episodes," they made "a spontaneous decision" to wed. Their two children, Elizabeth, 8, and James, 6, attended. Jagger has two other children, Elizabeth Jagger, 18, from his first marriage to Bianca Jagger, and Kora, 16, by actress Marlon Brando, H.H., who she designs ornaments and who appeared in the 1984 hit *Batman*, has often declared her intention to marry Jagger.

OWN: Author Marianne Cowan, 75, of a heart attack at Los Angeles Medical Center. Cowan presented "laughter therapy," which he developed as a result of his own struggle with arthritis in his best-selling *Autobiography of An Alcoholic*. He argued that laughter is essential to the immune system. A former editor of the *Saturday Review*, he wrote 25 books. Last month, he received the 1990 Albert Schweitzer Prize for Humanitarianism.

REJECTED: By a U.S. Federal Appeals Court in Washington, a plea by special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh to overturn a previous court's decision that let aside the felony convictions against former marine lieutenant-colonel Oliver North. The 12-member court also denied a petition by Walsh to enter the case. North had been

LOST IN THE TRANSLATION

I was flattered that Allan Fotheringham lost my article "The last dinner" in the December issue of *Toronto Life* and had it enough to have left his column on it ("No danger food?" It must be a mistake," Nov. 26). At least, I think it was my article he does not attribute his account) since all the facts and quotes Fotheringham was originally apparent there. In the broad brackets of Fotheringham's name, some subjects—not to mention, accounts—were lost. The guppies he imagines grinning at Foster's last collapsed had left for happier pastures long before the restaurant went bankrupt. Indeed, the loss of young, affluent customers is one of the reasons it did fail, a point I make clear in my article (maybe he did not have time to read that far). The "lethal-who-lunch," where I took the trouble to interview, were not the skinny trouble-free Fotheringham guppies. My term was "well-laid-out restaurant"—the kind more likely to be found at the Ade Macdonald Shop than Marilyn Brooks. And my letter who hunched on chicken stuffed with veal, nuts and ginger would not have "run-through bodies" for long. Anyway, that dish was not on the menu in 1990—I make reference to it in one of chef Werner Rausen's earliest columns.

Maria Fort,
Toronto



conceded to accepting a bribe, and destroying and falsifying documents in connection with the Iran-contra affair. Walsh said that he will appeal to the Supreme Court.

RELEASED: Rob Pelinka, 36, of the pop duo Milli Vanilli, in Los Angeles, after police arrested him for sexual battery. Pelinka said that he had been framed. Prosecutors said that the incident was not sufficiently serious to lay charges. Last month, Milli Vanilli lost their *United States* after revelations that others had done the singing on their album *Girl You Know It's True*.

SEPARATED: Washington Mayor Marianne Barry, 54, and his wife of 12 years, 28, 47 Barry, whose term will end on Jan. 2, was convicted of sexual assault on October 10 and sentenced to 18 months in prison.

LETTERS

WHAT CANADA WANTS

I have conducted a \$3 poll that will save our economy millions of wasted tax dollars ("What does Canada want?" *Canada/Cover*, Nov. 12). The consensus is uniform. What Canada wants is a new Prime Minister.

John H. Lefkowitz,
Toronto Bay, Ont.

What does Canada want? Action on the environment—clean air, clean water, clean food, clean money from office of all environmentally unconscious politicians and bureaucrats; honest media; a just society; a new federal government that understands that it is the servant, not the master, of the people; and a new Prime Minister.

Melvin McCallagh,
Winnipeg

Our federal politicians must stand up for Canada, and their regions. Why not send them to a different region during their summer holiday? By the end of a five-year term, he or she could have represented all regions of Canada and they might understand a little of the Canadian mosaic. If this plan were implemented, we could see the demise of the Bloc Québécois, the Confederation of Regions party and others of that ilk. Those parties stand for regionalism and have no right to be part of the federal scene.

Colin N. Gilman,
Barnesville, Minn.

A SWIMSUIT NUMBER

Congratulations to the new Miss Canada ("Personality queen," *People*, Nov. 12). Not to her wit, but on her day yet. What else could possibly account for her sassy comments about Miss Canada not being a beauty contest because contestants no longer do the obligatory swimsuit number? However, the photograph that accompanied the short article showed our new Miss Canada's important talents; yes, there was the beauty old swimsuit contest, complete with cleavage displayed over slightly by the pageant winner's hands.

June Fordham,
Toronto

UNLYRICAL LYRICS

Perhaps you would have found other words besides "rascally," "strong" and "sexual prowess" to describe the misanthropic lyrics of my 4. instead of women, the objects of my brutality were Jews, Arabs or magazine writers ("The big rap attack," *Music*, Nov. 12).

M. G. Chabon,
Campbell River, B.C.

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Maclean's

THE WELL-INFORMED CHOICE

LETTERS

MISPLACED INDIGNATION

I was stricken by the self-righteous tone of your critics and by your apologetic reply regarding the editorial's general in a picture you published ("Controversial decision," Letters, Nov. 21). It reminds me of the prophet Isaiah's words: "How often those that call evil good and good evil, that say darkness for light, and light for darkness, that put bitter for sweet and sweet for bitter."

David L. Martin
Burns Lake, B.C.

NO GUARANTEE OF JOBS

In response to the article "Opening the door wider" (Canada, Nov. 21), I would have been all for Barbara Mc Dougall's plan to bring more immigrants to Canada. If it were not for the fact that the \$325 million could be better used for the more crucial needs of the economy. Should not this money be used to help those recently unemployed due to the recession? Can our government guarantee the immigrants jobs when they get here?

Sharon Lee Shindler
Edmonton

'CALCULATED MURDER'

External Affairs Minister Joe Clark is calling on Canadians to go to war ("Blazing the path," World, Nov. 21). Why are we looking without protest? Our forces are going as part of the military machine conjured up by those who promote war as a solution to economic problems. Why do we protest in the streets when Morgenthau sets up an abortion clinic when we also support the calculated murder of millions of people who are sacrificed to the god of war?

Rev. Audrey Brooks
Edmonton

WHAT CANADA NEEDS

Contrary to what David P. Stegmann promises to believe (Letters, Nov. 18), Preston Manning's vision of a "new Canada" based on traditional values and middle-class religion is exactly what this country needs. Manning's Reform Party offers Canadians a well-thought-out and constructive platform designed to achieve more meaningful democracy through parliamentary and constitutional reform, and by implementing policies that encourage personal initiative and responsibility.

Patricia C. Munn
Woodstock, Ont.

Letters are edited and may be condensed. Writers should send complete address and telephone number. Maclean's does not accept liability for return of unsolicited material. Letters to the Editor, Maclean's, 777 Bay St., Toronto, Ont. M5W 1A7.

Now, we don't mean to disparage the virtues of this valuable metal. Only to point out what precious little is known of it and its applications.

The ribs of fine fountain pens, for example. Or for components in thermostats and voltage regulators. It's also alloyed with a variety of metals for improved corrosion resistance and hardness.

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WHEN IT CAME TO
WRITING ABOUT RUTHENIUM
WE HAD TO ASK OURSELVES
"WHAT'S THE POINT?"

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May 28, 1954

Camp Port Antonio, Jamaica

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(Andrews)

Tia Maria

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We share excerpts of her journal and letters with you here and invite you to taste the legendary Tia Maria Smooth Delicate. Powerful. Tempting. or more so.



LETTERS

GST CONSEQUENCES

Diane Francis overstepped the mark when she attempted to link free trade and the Goods and Services Tax ("Declaring war on the obstinate," *Column, Nov. 12*). The first was a necessity, the second a political money grab. It seems that she fails to recognize that while we accepted being the "poor man" in a Northern Hemisphere free trade agreement, it is far more dangerous to be the last market for value-added-tax acceptance in this part of the world. I am sure that the Canadian block market, which is critical to develop, will avoid those fourishing as the other 48 well-endowed countries. I am equally certain that Canadian retail spending in the United States will only double in the coming years.

Elbert Khushfeg,
Toronto

I think Diane Francis was right when she said that "trade liberalization has also led to fewer, bigger, more efficient manufacturing plants and resource operations." I presume she was thinking of the great new nation called "U.S.-Canada." Many Canadians are only too happy to have a close relationship with the United States, but they do not consider that we should be forced to sacrifice our economic and political independence.

Richard M. Smees,
Vancouver

Whatever explains Diane Francis may have thought necessary for the existing Free Trade Agreement, her characterization of the 1991 as a tax reform is pure obscurity. Defective as the manufacturers sales tax may be, it is sheer laziness to replace it by a flat, regressive sales tax requiring battalions of bureaucrats to administer. Strong alternatives include eliminating income tax cuts for the wealthy and the holiday for capital gains introduced by Mulroney, as well as introducing inheritance and stock transfer taxes.

Douglas J. Grant,
Sydney, N.S.

Contrary to popular belief, our governments cannot continue to protect us from the evils of the world economy. We must all come out of our cocoons to work for a stronger, competitive Canada in the 1990s. The GRT and free trade are vital components of this agenda.

Suzanne Clark,
Ottawa

Free trade is desirable, but only when it is agreed that protecting the environment and the health of our citizens is not vestiges of trade. Those who control world trade are not concerned with raising the standard of living of

Yesterday, my daughter beat me with a Half Nelson.

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FATHOM

COLOGNE FOR MEN



FOR MEN WHOSE EMOTIONS RUN DEEP

LETTERS

Neatpicks coffee pickers or Bolivian tin miners. True trade is simply a case choice for making the rich richer and keeping the poor in their place.

Frank Rollins,
Chilworth, B.C.

ACTS OF COURAGE

I am appalled to hear that in Northern Ireland, members of the Irish Republican Army have extended their acts of terrorism by using innocent citizens to do their dirty work ("Human bombs," "World War IV. This does not help them, but only goes to prove what monsters and cowards they truly are."

William Schellner,
Edmonton

Its members are called cowards, but at not everybody else cowardly if they do nothing to stop them? Courageous, dramatic steps need to be taken to stop the IRA.

Rebecca R. Larkin,
Edmonton

QUESTIONING "NECESSITY"

Barbara Amiel's appalling column in the New York Times ("Why war in the Gulf is absolutely necessary"), smacking the United States for not going to war, reminds me of the expression that "war hath no fury like a non-combatant's." Fortunately, war is too serious to be left to magazine columnists. And cowards! We appear to be running towards hell with a bucket of water. We cannot afford a large standing army, but should we not meet that the equipment we have is state-of-the-art?

Robert J. Fishburne,
Markham, Ont.

If Saddam Hussein has indulged in "baked aggression, torture, rape and pillage," what kind of hell should Israel put in the hands of Israeli Air Force? Amnesty International says that it has evidence that Saudi Arabian forces have tortured hundreds of Yemenis. By calling for war with Iraq, can Amiel square two standards of double-crossings—one acceptable, the other a parish of the international community?

Bert Snodgrass,
Barrie, Ont.

Why is there a fuss about the demolition of a feudal rule of a fragment of a state arbitrarily created by Britain? Hussein has been tolerated through much more serious atrocities. So let us talk about strategy, or cheap oil. Not about honour.

Stephen M. Craig,
Englewood, Alta.

By the time we got home, the babysitter had blown \$5000 on Blackjack.

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WHERE THE WORLD COMES HOME



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A black and white advertisement for Drambuie. The top half shows a bottle of Drambuie being poured, with a single drop of the liqueur suspended in mid-air. The bottle's label is partially visible, showing the word 'DRAMBUIE' and 'Prince Charles Food Co'. Below the drop, a glass filled with ice is shown. On the left side, the text 'THE CONTEMPORARY CHOICE' is printed in a serif font.

MAGLIANO, COCCO, AND DE LUCA 15, 1998

OPENING NOTES

The *Globe and Mail* covers up, Bruce McNall shoots and scores, and a colonel takes command of the language

THE ENGLISH-SPEAKING GULF

Col. Philip Engsted, Commanding Officer, Canadian Air Task Force in the Middle East, sounds like a true military man: straightforward, in debriefing of theory are no use. Also known as "Worm" because of his shaggy build, Engsted has instructed his troops to use such constructions as "petroleum hostilities" for war, and "potential adversaries" for the enemy. Such usage is in the tradition of NATO, whose briefers routinely referred to the Soviets only as "the threat." In a recent interview, the colonel declared: "In an air defense mission, the controlling agency with the overall picture has the tactical control of these air masses; he happens to be controlling on the flow and he manages them in a tactically sound way." When the de-



An air crew prepares a CF-18 at Qatar airbase in the Persian Gulf

fused reporter asked Engsted to explain what a "tactical" engagement was, he replied: "When [the Command] flyer is mission, they are under the tactical control of the controlling agency for their effective management and coordination." The control tower is rewriting the orders.

The voice of an angry artist

Nine South marine artist Graham (Bud) Baker says that he is still as opposed to The National Gallery of Canada's controversial \$1.8-million purchase of Barnett Newman's *Room of Five* last year, but he has written a letter offering the gallery the chance to buy his painting, *God Alone Preaches*, for the same price. Baker's traditional seascapes and landscapes usually fetch about \$2,500. Bud Baker: "These people bought the *Edsel of the art world*." He added: "The gallery could sell *Henry of Farnback* in the dollar and sell mine for \$1.8 million for my painting. The government could grab that in taxes, and I would be rich." Baker said that he has not received an answer to his letter. Said a gallery spokesman, "We have no

comment to make on the letter except to say that it will be responded to." And they know that when they see one.



Baker: returning the *Edsel of the art world*

A CAR FIT FOR A QUEEN'S REP

Quebec Lt.-Gov. Marilou Avelin recently bought a \$38,000 Chrysler Imperial as his official car. But because provincial ministers travel in Chevrolet Caprices worth only \$22,000, Supply Minister Robert Dault questioned whether Avelin was violating government policy. Mark Fauriol, the lieutenant-governor's executive assistant, insisted that his boss is exempt from the same rules that apply to ministers. Said Fauriol: "He spends a lot of time on the road and he needs a sturdy car. He also needs a car that is in keeping with his status."

A town that lacks direction

Visitors to Saskatoon, S.S., could be in for a confusing time, especially if they rely on the latest shopper's guide distributed by a local business organization. A street map of the community appears in reverse, and now east is west and west is east. Some local politicians have expressed outrage at the error, and local business people who paid to advertise in the guide were asking for compensation. One merchant said that whoever is responsible for the guide "should hang their heads in shame." Now, a new map will be inserted into the guide, and mostly council members said that they will be more than ready to check the guide's text files.

ANOTHER ALTERED STATE

Toronto artist and freelance writer David Milford says that a drawing of his that appeared in the Nov. 30 issue of the *Toronto Globe and Mail* was altered. The picture of a procession of naked men and women accompanied in article, also by Milford, about AIDS. According to the artist, someone tampered with the picture of one of the male figures in the drawing. "I don't want to get all hysterical about this," Milford said. "But I do think it was silly and unnecessary." *Globe Facts and Arts* sends page editor Philip Jackson's criticism to the publisher.



Milford's 'silly'



Lakota's Authentic Decor controversy

David Milford: "I don't find it offensive personally but I felt it might offend the readers." Jackson also said that he was aware of a second controversy that erupted when a painting by Aldo Richard Lakota was mistakenly shown in a similar manner in the Oct. 3 issue of *Marathon*. He said, too, that he was aware that the *Globe* gave wide coverage to that incident, which raised allegations of censorship. However, Jackson insisted that the circumstances surrounding his decision were different. Said Jackson: "This was a piece of work commissioned by us. It is not as if we were taking a Lakota-style vase and altering it."

WORN-OUT PATIENCE—AND UNDERWEAR

Parting her concerns in writing has worked for at least one beleaguered Soviet consumer. Valentina Kopolina, a worker in Ukraine, sent a letter of frustration to Konstantin Serov, the Soviet trade minister in Moscow. Wrote Kopolina: "I am desperate. For four years, I have not been able to buy [sweater for living as fruit] cotton underwear—the cheapest ones, Article 17004, costing one ruble, 30 kopecks [32.85]. And I cannot afford the expensive ones, which [for God's sake, sorry again] your wife and the wives of your colleagues wear." Kopolina's frustration evidently touched a chord somewhere in the Soviet bureaucracy, because about a month later, a deliveryman arrived at her door bearing 30 pairs of white cotton underwear. Glenspan pays.

A Tory's thrilling past

Douglas Clark, the greatest British foreign secretary who ever came down in that week's rain for the Tory leadership, has a passion for money power. In the late 1980s and the 1990s, Clark wrote several political thrillers, all published by Hodder & Stoughton. Titles include: *The Devil on the Face of the Tower* and *Switch on the Streets*, which drew me 50,000 signatures in a campaign in Chislehurst and at the United Nations, enjoyed modest success. A reviewer in a London newspaper calls the books "some of the most scintillatingly clever novels of political fiction in the past 25 years." But one critic, swooping down on such assertions as he slipped into bed and made love to his wife. Not so much, but machinically, thinking of her pleasure as well as his, but not giving more of himself than was necessary" and described them as "totally devoid of style." But strange on substance.



Clark plotting for the leadership

Playing with cash

Los Angeles Kings owner Bruce McNall recently told a group of Alberta businessmen his version of the infamous



Geordie talent for sale

deal with Edmonton Oilers owner Peter Pocklington that sent Wayne Gretzky south. Said McNall: "Pocklington had not told Oilers coach Glen Sather about the deal. When he did, Sather hit the roof. Pocklington called to say there was no deal. So, I just wired him \$25 million cash. It's pretty tough to give that amount of money back." A real power play.

So Comfortable
JOCKEY

“As far as I’m concerned, Jockey is the only underwear there is. Because no other underwear has that Jockey fit, that Jockey feel, that Jockey style. Just Jockey.”

Jim Palmer
Member “Baseball Hall of Fame”
Sports Announcer/Analyst
Baltimore, Maryland

Jim Palmer

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COLUMN



It is time for English Canada to speak up

BY DIANE FRANCIS

The distance between the Montreal offices of Charles Brindson and of separatist leader Jacques Parizeau is only six blocks, but it might as well be millions of kilometers. Brindson, in a recent interview, told me he and the Segouin-Groble heads would leave a separated Quebec. Later, in another interview, Parizeau scoffed: “Brindson and that fellow. Those who wanted to leave have left.”

Parizeau can scoff, but he doesn't convince Brindson would lead a parade of tens of thousands of headless jobs out of Quebec. It would be impossible for major chartered banks, Crown corporations like Canadian National Railways or defence contractors to be headquartered in a “foreign” country. And I suspect that increased support in the polls for separatism is already causing a quiet departure of jobs and investment dollars. Despite the danger, Canada's silent majority owes legitimacy to Parizeau's occasionally dangerous, and alive, independence credo.

The situation is sporting, but, on the other hand, the marriage is not working. Canada suffers from major fundamental flaws which desperately need correction. But before these can be addressed, remedial action is needed to stop any silly notion of out-and-out independence as an option. Ottawa should make it clear that it will refuse to let anyone else use the Canadian dollar and the Bank of Canada. It should also ask Washington to refuse to negotiate free trade arrangements with any flexible-way province. And last but not least, Quebec must be told that if it secedes it must assume its 35-percent share of the national debt, roughly \$98 billion of the current \$334 billion owed. This 35-per-cent share is based on the fact that Quebec accounts for one-quarter of Canada's population. Likewise, Ottawa should immediately include a clause in any confederation—loss or gain—given to any company that all money must be repaid immediately if the province it is located in secedes. Independence at household economies up would reduce

Increased support in the polls for Quebec separatism is already causing a departure of jobs and investment dollars.

everyone's living standards overnight.

Parizeau says out and has glib answers for every threat. He says that Quebec will only assume the difference between Quebec's \$50-billion share of the debt and the multi-billion dollar value of Quebec's share of federal assets, such as Crown corporations, government office towers or airports. Point is, who says that we must agree to buy these back from an independent Quebec, and at what price?

Parizeau even threatens to renounce the St. Lawrence Seaway and NATO defence treaties if attempts are made to economically isolate Quebec. “What we want in everything is have a third, Quebec, signature,” he says. “What if the Americans don't want a third signature and push Quebec out of the Free Trade Agreement?” Then Quebec must have the right to look at each treaty signed in our name, except the St. Lawrence Seaway, and discuss more. Before Quebec counter-signs all these treaties in one afternoon, or we renegotiate them one by one. It'll be one incredible mess.”

Parizeau says that he would prefer Quebec to use the Canadian dollar and central bank, but only if French money were pegged to within two percentage points higher or lower than American ones. He adds that Ottawa has tried

three. “We could have our own currency, but it would be more comforting to keep the Canadian dollar,” he says wryly. “It would be bad for the rest of Canada if we did not have the same currency. Quebecers currently have \$100 billion in bank deposits and bills. If that amount was floating outside the system, it would be like having another \$200 billion in foreign debt to be repaid. So, that being the case, we'd probably agree to a single currency.” Conversely, if Quebec creates its own currency, there would be an even greater “overhang” of “foreign” currency to contend with.

What surprises is the silence of any vocal critics of Parizeau's treasonous policies. But doubt, English Canada has conspired well. So emboldened by the silence of others, Parizeau and his followers seem bent on independence merely because the opportunity to become a state. There is not a single compelling reason for Quebec to leave. Language rights are a red herring, and Parizeau can only point to past governments. For example, he says now, Francophone provincials were unable to find jobs in Canada until the 1970s. But that's no longer the case and besides, I ask him, isn't it true—as the world hurtles towards a single global economy—that every ambitious Quebecer, whether an engineer, scientist, musician, hair-dresser or politician, must speak English? “Yes,” he says. “And I'd like them to speak a third language, too.”

Consider the facts. Outside Quebec, French language rights are embraced enthusiastically. Ottawa is bilingual, and a disproportionate number of non-English civil service jobs in Ottawa are held by bilingual francophones. For the past 25 years, with two brief lapses, Joe Clark and John Turner, the prime minister of Canada has been a Quebecer. Inside Quebec, French has become its official language and principal workplace language. Francophones, thanks to consistently excellent education, now lead Quebec's business world. What more could be wanted?

Parizeau says that Quebecers only trust their own provincial government in Quebec City. “No one says that what was done at the federal level was wrong,” he says. “It was poor or inadequate,” he adds. “But more often than not, when our own [Quebec] government opened the doors, intense conflict resulted on the so-called language front [by English-Canadians]. Language rights would not have been given to us. There was no room only by the Quebec government. Federal bilingualism came too late. We're not mad, and we understand fully well you don't operate in international markets without English.”

Renegotiating past agreements is no way to lead together a country that makes economic sense. What really is going on is a badly disguised grab for power, a waste of energy, money and time which could be better spent getting our collective heads together to restructure our political and economic institutions to allow us to prosper and, at the same time, look after the less fortunate at both official languages. Instead, we are 26 million



Commissioner Caspary greets Jean Charest and Pierre Boivin.

CANADA

QUEBEC SEEKS ITS OWN WAY

They have traveled by charter flights, swarming down on small towns along the St. Lawrence River and in the depths of rural Quebec. They have carried their suitcases through fog and snow and freezing rain. And in high-school classrooms and hotel conference rooms, the members of the Commission on the Political and Constitutional Future of Quebec have listened to the aspirations of the province's people. Later, the commission's 37 members will try to translate these aspirations into clear recommendations for Quebec's future: left by last week, as they ended their first month of public hearings, the commissioners had already begun to realize the depth of dissatisfaction

LARGELY IGNORED OUTSIDE QUEBEC, A COMMISSION HEARS CALLS FOR A REFERENDUM ON INDEPENDENCE

tion in the province. Indeed, even some parliamentarians who expected to encounter support for independence have been taken aback by calls for broader social change as well. But commissioners Lucien Bouchard, the former federal cabinet minister who now heads the seven-member Blue Quebecers "It is a realization I sense that Quebec is about to redefine itself completely."

Their realization may, in fact, prove to be much more sweeping than Quebec's Liberal Premier Robert Bourassa had in mind when he unveiled the commission in August. Its mandate under the flat leadership of its two chairmen, Jean Caspary and Pierre Boivin, is to chart a constitutional course for Quebec, follow up the failure of the proposed Meech Lake accord, with no provision of distinct status for Quebec. But whatever control Bourassa may have hoped to exercise over its deliberations has largely been disrupted—in part by division among his supporters over the extent of federalism, and in part by Bourassa's own absence while he has undergone treatment at a U.S. cancer institute (page 16). Indeed, some critics contend that the premier's creation has taken on a momentum of its own—drawing his Liberal party into dissent. Certainly, the commission has become a lightning rod for public dissatisfaction over a spectrum of issues ranging from poverty to government services. And above all looms the possibility of a referendum on independence as early as the fall.

The commissioners, meanwhile, have found a personal chemistry that belies their deep disagreements over ideology. At most of the past's hearings, a public show of restraint has prevailed among the assembly of politicians, businessmen and union leaders. Still, individual members of the commission have gravitated towards an unlikely alliance of ultra-Leftist Quebecers, a Liberal, and Jean-Pierre Boivin, a Conservative, while many of those who question Quebec's links to Canada have coalesced around Bouchard's leadership. And despite the headlines on display at most of these hearings, it remains realistic that the group will succeed in drafting a document from the many divergent voices of Quebec's future that it is meaningful.

Finally, however, it will be difficult for the panel given the task of a somewhat radical option that is raising strongly in Quebec. Bouchard, urging the commission to press for full political independence for the province's 6.6 million residents have far outnumbered those arguing in favor of Quebec's existing role in Confederation—including last week's appearance by a group of pro-independence Parti Québécois members in the Grand concourse of Montreal. For their part, a handful of English-speaking residents of Quebec expressed their views to have relatively accepted the inevitability of Quebec's independence. Said Howard Miller, speaking in Montreal on behalf of the Committee of Anglo-

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National Notes

AN INSURANCE TEST
Liberal Senator Ted Humphreys, 46, collapsed after a Senate debate after speaking for several hours about the first, even-numbered session of the first debate on the federal Goods and Services Tax (GST). Humphreys, who has a history of heart problems, quickly recovered and later blamed the incident on a combination of exhaustion, stress and "acute heart medication on an empty stomach." Debate on the GST is scheduled to begin in late January. Humphreys' collapse—later followed by a heart attack—has raised concerns about the workload of senators in the weeks ahead.

A GUILTY PLEA
Non-fictional Conservative M.P. Barry Stronach, 39, has pleaded guilty to sexually assaulting a 16-year-old girl in the early 1980s. Stronach had already been expelled from the caucus last November after being charged.

ABORTION ONTARIO-STYLE
Ontario's 307 government announced that it will speed up the licensing of freestanding abortion clinics and cover all fees associated with abortion. The government will also allow private doctors to perform abortions. The new law will allow women from remote areas who must travel to obtain abortions and will recruit and train physicians to perform the procedure.

THE CBC BITES BACK
Noting that the CBC had been ordered by Ottawa to slash its budget by \$140 million over the next three years, CBC president Gerald Willson told a parliamentary committee that he is considering to the CBC board of directors that the company be placed in receivership. The committee, which provides live coverage of the House of Commons, has \$4.5 million in its annual budget. The CBC has been accused of being a politically sensitive target for its cuts.

A CHANGE OF HEART
The House of Commons allowed after a committee agreed to a public inquiry into the "anti-gay" stance of the Liberal Party in Quebec before the Meech Lake and the Meech Lake Accord. The committee's report may be presented to the House of Commons in January. Meanwhile, Minister of Health, a former Liberal, announced that he would be leaving the cabinet after the election. He had been criticized by the public during the Meech Lake Accord, which was rejected by the province of Quebec.

admitted that Canada would never go to "quite a different federation."

For his part, Mulrunden made it clear that the government will not call a referendum unless it is certain that the result will be decisive. Anything less, he told Mulrunden's last week in Quebec, would transfer the province to any future negotiations with the rest of Canada. Declared Mulrunden: "It would weaken Quebec politically. The damage would be very great." For his part, federal Liberal Quebecer announced the Parti Québécois of seeking to accelerate a referendum only because its members fear that the tensions among Quebecers over the failed Meech Lake accord might dissipate before the PQ can benefit from it. Declared Ouellet: "The sovereigntists are exploiting the feelings of rejection and angst."

With the provincial Liberals apparently astute, Ouellet, along with his federal Tory counterpart Hogg, has stepped into the role of quarterback for the federalist forces in the past. Sorting aside their partisan differences, the two MPs have pooled their resources in order to research the issues being raised by witnesses. They have also coordinated their interventions in the hearings with four other concerned federalists, all from the business world. For his part, Mulrunden has been doing regularly with a loose and shifting group of commissioners that includes union leaders, municipal politicians and farmers, artists and school board representatives. Staff Mulrunden: "It is just an attempt to rally people around a consensus. We do not share our resources or exchange documents, we just sit together sometimes."

Such consensus may become strained when the commission begins its final task, however. In March, all 37 members are to be involved in drafting a final report based on the hearings.



Réaume's key provincial Liberals have left the federalist cause to others

Most of the pundits have said that they hope to be able to fashion a consensus in the coming year. But Mulrunden, for one, does not have much hope for unanimity, noting: "I'm not ever just out to agree with the Parti Québécois." Instead, Mulrunden and many other observers predict that the final commission will lay out the same of common ground—probably including support for economic links with the rest of Canada and Quebec jurisdiction over such matters as manpower training and regional development—and then simply list several options for change,

ranging from vastly increased powers for Quebec within the present federal structure to outright political independence. Only two options will not be considered, according to the commission's mandate: accession into the United States and the status quo. Clearly, such indecision on the part of the commission will only reinforce demands that Mulrunden's government allow the people of Quebec to decide for themselves which option they prefer to follow for the future.



Bourassa: double person

Monday. In August, he consulted a Montreal gynaecologist, who informed him that the growth was cancerous. Bourassa then, chartered a plane at his own expense and flew to Berkeley for a consultation. But because of the ongoing Mulrunden crisis at Oka, he delayed surgery until September.

Now, after his follow-up surgery, political observers continue to speculate about the true state of the premier's health. But Mario Desjardins, Bourassa's friend and former chief of staff, told a Nov. 17 visit to Bourassa at the Nazarene Cancer Institute that the premier appeared to be in fine form. He noted that among Bourassa's close concerns was that arrangements be made to enable him to receive Quebec newspaper. That may be the most hopeful sign that Bourassa himself is convinced that the worst is over.

NANCY WOOD



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Australia

The Western Down Under



MISSING BUT NOT FORGOTTEN

The commission on the political and constitutional future of Quebec is moving its next and very important stage. Premier Robert Bourassa returned to the Nazarene Cancer Institute at Berkeley, Md., at week's end recovering from exploratory surgery performed on Nov. 13. Two weeks earlier, he underwent an operation for an aneurysm—a potentially fatal clot on the—on his lower back. After that operation, during which surgeons reportedly removed several lymph nodes, doctors at the institute said that the premier appeared to be free of cancer. But although Bourassa again received a clean bill of health after the Nov. 13 surgery, questions have persisted about the premier's health, and his illness has created an unsettled feeling in Quebec political circles.

Sources say that a today-dropped mask on Bourassa's back was first noticed by the

premier's son, Jean-Pierre Bourassa, during a December, 1989, family visit to his son in Ontario in Florida. But Bourassa, an ardent and well-known supporter of his son, career approach, did not visit a doctor. Last April, again in Florida, a family friend also noticed the worsening condition. The concerned friend approached Bourassa's wife, André, who said that she was worried but pointed out that her husband did not want to see a doctor.

Care friends of the premier say that his reluctance to seek medical help may have resulted from fear of the outcome. They say that the premier was transfused by his father's death in 1984 of a heart attack at the age of 57. Now 57 himself, the premier has always been health conscious. He exercises regularly, drinks milk at news conferences, does not smoke and rarely drinks.

By June, as the Meech Lake negotiations headed for failure, Bourassa could no longer ignore the worsening sore—which was by then

bleeding. In August, he consulted a Montreal gynaecologist, who informed him that the growth was cancerous. Bourassa then, chartered a plane at his own expense and flew to Berkeley for a consultation. But because of the ongoing Mulrunden crisis at Oka, he delayed surgery until September.

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NANCY WOOD

AUSTRALIA FROM RANCH TO RESORT IN TWO WEEKS.



A bittersweet victory

Iraq releases only a handful of Canadians

For Sandra Wolf of Rocky Mountain House, Alta., it was the end of weeks of anguished waiting. Four months after Iraqi troops invaded Kuwait on Aug. 3, Wolf's husband, Tim, 38, an oil worker employed in Iraq, was at last on the verge of freedom. Like the relatives of at least 46 other Canadians still held against their will in Iraq and Kuwait, Wolf had pinned her hopes on a delegation of three men who arrived in Baghdad on Nov. 19 and who spent the next nine days trying to convince Iraqi officials to release the hostages. When word of her husband's impending release came last week, Wolf, the mother of three young children, rushed five blocks to St. Matthew Elementary School to share the news with her seven-year-old son, Byron, who was stealing the St. Anne Catholic school's monthly mass. Said Wolf: "I prayed for the mass, gave thanks, and then the kids all hugged me."

Though her sister, Wolf said that she felt saddened that so many Canadian hostages were still being detained. For similar reasons, the three men—Conservative Robert Corbett, Liberal Lloyd Austin and New Democrat

Steve Robinson—were also subdued about the success of their mission. Before travelling to Baghdad, the men said that they were hoping to bring all 46 hostages home. But last Friday night, the men returned to Canada alone. Two of the three hostages—Hussein Abdul Aziz, an 18-year-old student from Toronto who had been on a pilgrimage of Islamic holy sites in Iraq during the summer, and Lee Bates, a 39-year-old oil consultant from Calgary—had already flown to London to visit with friends and family before returning to Canada. Three others—Robert Beck, 45, of Mercantile, Ont., Bob McKinn, 51, of Edmonton and Wolf—were still in Baghdad awaiting their final exit visas. Said Robinson: "Obviously we're disappointed." But, added Austin: "We hope we've opened the door for other Canadians to return as the next batch will."

For his part, Robinson said that the MIA efforts were likely hindered by Ottawa's militant stance against Iraq—refusing to support, along with 31 other nations, for a UN Security Council resolution passed last week authorizing the use of force against Iraq if it does not

retreat from Kuwait before Jan. 15 (page B8). Robinson added that the MIA were likely pessimistic for failing to make the initial placements to the Iraq leader. "We didn't come here bearing any gifts," he said. "We weren't prepared to grovel at the feet of Saddam." But other observers, including the relatives of some of the hostages still in Iraq and Kuwait, said that the initiative was destined to fail because the MIA had indicated sufficient advance to attract Saddam Hussein's attention. Indeed, last week Hussein's spokesman announced that he had accepted the MIA's offer—something denied to the three Canadians—and then released 14 U.S. hostages to return home with Ali. "It was wonderful of the MIA to go, but I think they were the wrong people to send," said Robinson. Terrell Robinson, whose husband, Neima, a 43-year-old director of a hotel management firm, remains stranded in Kuwait. "Hussein wants somebody who is powerful, prestigious. He's not getting what he wants."

Certainly, the three men found it slow going as they waded their way through the Byzantine world of Iraqi politics. By gradual steps, the men moved from talking with low-level Iraqi bureaucrats to meeting members of the country's national assembly, and finally to talks with the Arab intervention allies committee of the Iraqi parliament. After that committee made an unofficial recommendation to Hussein's office, the men learned that five Canadians—who had apparently been selected at

random—would be released.

At the same time, some relatives of the Canadian hostages condemned what they saw as inflammatory comments made by External Affairs Minister Joe Clark. During a Nov. 23 to 27 Middle Eastern tour, Clark talked tough about the need to maintain international pressure against Iraq. Declared Terrell Robinson: "I think Clark opening his big mouth probably set everything back." But Tory MP Corbett said that some of Clark's comments may have actually helped the hostages' cause—in particular, Clark's statements in Israel that the issue of a Palestinian homeland must be dealt with immediately following the resolution of the Gulf crisis. Those remarks, claimed Corbett, "did us no harm at all."

Last week's developments left the issue of the remaining Canadian hostages deeply clouded. Particularly clouded was the case of Piyush Bhatnagar, 73, and his wife, Shobhana, 67, of Scarborough, Ont., who are stranded in Baghdad. When Iraq announced the release of the five Canadians, the MIA were led to believe that Iraqi officials also intended to release Piyush Bhat-

nagar—who recently underwent triple-bypass heart surgery—on humanitarian grounds. But by week's end, no further progress had been made, leaving the Bhatnagar's son, Ashish, to fear that his parents may remain hostages. Said Ashish: "Someone is probably having a lot of fun playing with our emotions."

Still, at least two other Canadians may secure their release in the coming weeks. Rela-



Abdul Aziz (left) and Bates address the ones left behind

tives of nurse Cheryl Dyck and her husband, Dr. Colin Dyck, told Maclean that it will appear likely that the Nova Scotia couple will return home in time for Christmas—under the suspicion of the Irish placement firm that had secured their postings at a Baghdad hospital. But, for the families of the other hostages, the immediate future appears bleak. "Our options are narrowing," said Jeanne Stenbury of Calgary, whose husband, Fred, a 59-year-old computer engineer, is being held in Kuwait. Stenbury, who was instrumental in organizing the hostages' families and contacting the MIA to go to Iraq, and that one option may be to put together a humanitarian package, perhaps through the International Red Cross, to bring in badly needed medicine and baby foods. Said Stenbury: "We go in with a gift. We buy them out. The MIA delegation could not do that." For the relatives of those still trapped in the Gulf, desperate times clearly require desperate measures.

BRIAN BRIDGMAN with JOHN HOBSON in Calgary and GLEN ALLEN in Halifax



*Dad taught me a lot...
but some things he
let me discover for
myself.*





COVER

THE LONELY ROAD HOME

**JEAN CHRETIEN
FACES THE VOTERS
IN BEAUSEJOUR
AND A DECLINE
IN HIS FORTUNES**

The expectant setting was far from ideal for a candidate who takes pride in speaking "straight from the heart." The latest meeting place of a school near the village of Beauséjour on New Brunswick's French-speaking Acadian coast was draped last week in Chretienian decorations and packed with voters. As if on cue, Jean Chretien, well into his whirlwind campaign to win a Dec. 30 federal election in the riding of Beauséjour, stood his double-breasted, very blue and let loose with a vintage partisan performance. He attacked the reformed GST,

saying, "I want to tell it—nothing less." With equal gusto, he sang Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's stonewalling of the carbon, "Nobody speaks for Canada in this country," he thundered. His concluding salvo amounted to a prayer for divine intervention. "I just hope God is a Liberal, too." The charged appeal found an attentive listener in Armand Desmarais, a lottery-ticket distributor from the nearby town of Shediac. Still, Desmarais afterwards, "I was afraid he was like John Turner—that he had lost some of his magic. But he's back in form."

The relaxed and confident manner that Chretien displayed on the New Brunswick

campaign trail, however, was in sharp contrast to his often subdued performance in Ottawa since winning the Liberal party leadership in June. In fact, as he wrestles with a host of problems that leave the once-dominant party, Chretien has shown only brief flashes of the earthy and informal style that long placed him among the country's most popular politicians. In most appearances, Chretien has lately seemed colorless and one-dimensional.

And despite the flashes of his former self that emerge infrequently when he throws away his prepared text, some Liberals accuse Chretien's advisers of stripping the 56-year-old leader of the passionate authenticity that was his trademark for more than two decades.

Misstep: At the same time, polls indicate that his party's hold on the Canadian imagination is slipping. Popular support for the Liberals has slumped to 38 per cent from almost 50 per cent when he seized the leadership. Although he has branched the long process of restoring vigor and a sense of direction to a listless party, his critics say that he has moved too cautiously to distance the Liberals from Mulroney's Conservatives and their policies. In the most sympathetic view, and Robert Jackson, a political scientist at Ottawa's Carleton University who was

a senior policy adviser to Turner, "the Liberals are waiting before they bring out a policy agenda." But he added, "If they think they can get away without one, they are wrong." Skepticism towards Chretien in Quebec, meanwhile, has badly undermined his strategy of becoming the most powerful federal voice speaking out for cultural unity.

Among Liberal loyalists, the growing loss of his far-left reputation—although some party members who supported Paul Martin's bid for the leadership continue to be bitter over their loss at the June 25 convention (page 23). Still, among Chretien's 18 allies closest to him by the fire of repeating the disasters that led to his predecessor, Turner, who was the target of backbench revolt. But some party activists express concern that Chretien's subdued manner and slow start have already taken their toll. The Liberal's chief financial officer, Michael Robinson, who was Paul Martin's campaign manager, argues that Chretien's refusal to take a stand in the final days of the Liberal-Labour debate undermined his reputation in a straight shooter. Still Robinson, "The strength of Jean Chretien was that people saw him as a cat who slays a politician. Now, he is in danger of becoming just another politician."

In fact, Chretien is not trying to play down the very image that made him popular to begin with. Throughout a 23-year career in federal politics that included eight cabinet positions, Chretien displayed a quiescent blend of vulnerability and toughness, earning a reputa-

tion as a passionate scrapper who spoke with conviction. If he carried notes into meetings on delicate issues, they were colored in a single page. But whenever his industry led, he accused him of being a policy lightweight, a small cadre of advisers began concentrating on casting Chretien in a more substantive light. First, they scheduled his speeches on selected issues as an attempt to prevent him from dominating the agenda. Then, long time strategy, as the expectation that Chretien would win the leadership, was that a federal election was at least two years away—allowing Chretien plenty of time to establish his policy credentials at his own pace. Says Edward Goldring, Chretien's principal secretary: "This is a marathon, not a 100-yard dash."

But before that gradual shift in emphasis could be put into effect, Chretien stumbled. Chief among his problems was his perceived flip-flop over the Meech Lake constitutional accord. Last June, when final negotiations were taking place in an attempt to resolve the deal, Chretien, a longtime opponent of the accord, worked privately to achieve a revised agreement—but hedged publicly on whether he supported or opposed an amended deal. And when the accord failed, the Quebec media vilified Chretien as one of the architects of its demise.

Uncertainty: After winning his party's leadership, Chretien made few public appearances—fostering further uncertainty about his convictions. Personal problems may have partly contributed to his withdrawal from the public stage. Insiders say that he was, and remains, deeply troubled over the legal difficulties his adopted son, Michael, who has pleaded not guilty to charges of sexual assault in Montreal. But by remaining silent for much of the summer, Chretien also missed opportunities to clarify his image. He was absent during most of the standoff between Mohawk Indians and authorities in Quebec. And when public attention turned in September to the government's widely delayed anti-inflation, Chretien refused to say whether he would slash the tax if he were elected.

Finally, on Oct. 28, Chretien said that he would do so. But a survey published on Nov. 27 by Toronto-based Environics Research Group found that only 44 per cent of those polled said that they did not believe him. More troubling, however, was that over half of those who described themselves as Liberal supporters told the polling company that they did not believe their own leader. Still, Environics' vice-president Donna Dado, "There is a much higher degree of cynicism about the Liberals, despite the fight by Liberal insiders against the car. That should be a source of concern."

Chretien's declaration on the GST was one of a number of policy announcements that he has made in recent months—in keeping with his advisers' long-term plan for shaking his image. But in spite of that, Chretien's support in public opinion polls—often his strategic strength—has continued to erode. Last May, just before his June leadership win, an Angus Reid poll indicated that 53 per cent of Canadians had high



Chretien in Moncton, N.B. (top, left) and in Sackville, N.B., with wife Alice and New Brunswick Premier Frank McKenna: "I just hope God is a Liberal, too."

'THE MOOD IS UGLY'

CHRETIEN SAYS HE WILL FIGHT FOR CANADA

Since winning the Liberal leadership last June, Jean Chrétien has presided over a steady erosion in his party's standing in opinion polls. That decline may in part be due to the fact that the former Trudeau cabinet minister who resigned from Parliament in 1986 after representing Quebec's St-Maurice riding for 33 years, lacks a record of Conservative support. As a result, Chrétien, 46, has recently encountered his greatest an ideological goal, winning the Dec. 10 election in New Brunswick's electoral riding. Last week, while campaigning in Brunswick, he quizzed Maclean's Publisher Thomas Chief Glen Alder about the prospects for his party—and for the country. Excerpts.

Maclean's: Why did you not run in Quebec?

Chrétien: This mood in Quebec is not very good for anybody. That is a reality. But I have always been number 1 in Quebec—not as high as I would like, but ahead of the other parties. Some liberals offered to resign for me and I could have been their main man in Quebec. But I had decided a long time ago that I wanted to have a different experience. I decided a year ago that as a Canadian that was very attractive for me because I wanted to learn something new—and I'm learning every day. How these people, being far away from Central Canada, manage—and what is their mentality. I want to be prime minister of Canada. So to be representing fishermen, small businesses—these are things that I did not represent when I was in St-Maurice, which basically was an urban riding in rural Quebec. Here it's rural, and French and English. So it's a completely new experience, and I have to tell you that I find it fascinating.

Maclean's: During your campaigning, have people noticed about larger issues such as the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement and the state of the nation?

Chrétien: People are preoccupied with things like free trade. They are afraid that they don't see the benefits. And some complain about the freedoms of the country—high interest rates, the dollar and the high dollar. There are also some questions about the Middle East and the possibility of war. And there is the fact that the

country is disintegrating. This is a preoccupation especially among the Acadians, who very strongly believe, as I do, that it is possible to be francophone and yet not a Quebecer.

Maclean's: Some critics have said that you are many—yesterday's man. What do you say to this?

Chrétien: The problem is that, because I served a long time, as I am yesterday's man, it is a very shallow argument. In eight years, I will be 64, five years younger than when Ronald Reagan became president. I'm still 10 years younger than George Bush. In

seem, We've never had such bad publicity internationally than what happened in the past year. And many of these things were based on mismanagement. If the Oka crisis had been taken care of at the right time in March when the Indians created the first barricade, there would not have been that black eye for the nation. It was pure bad management.

I was discussing this today with a local head. They were had 4,500 acres that was reduced to 350 acres and has now been reduced to 150. And they have acquired an asset of the 150. Can you blame them for complaining about the way they have been treated? The government is dragging its feet. Bureaucrats come every two months by the tens, sit down with them—and nothing ever occurs.

Maclean's: Would a Chrétien government alter the Canada-U.S. Free Trade Agreement?

Chrétien: The policy of my party is that we will want to renegotiate the bad elements of the deal. The negotiators say that they don't want to reopen the deal, if they don't want to renegotiate, we always have the option of abrogation. But it's too early to judge, because we've been in the trade only for two years now.

Maclean's: What are your feelings about the current federal and Quebec commission of inquiry into constitutional questions. Are there any and not war?

Chrétien: Dialogue is always important, so any commission can be useful. The fundamental problem occurred when Prime Minister Mulroney neglected to talk about Canada and Quebec when he made his deal with radical nationalists, some of whom even ended up in his cabinet. All that has blown up in his face. He was supposed to be the great conciliator. But he has divided the country like never before. The mood is ugly. This is one of the reasons I am back in politics.

Maclean's: What is your view of the country when you are returned to active duty?

Chrétien: It is the coming back to your summer home in the spring and finding that a storm has passed through the place. You see the necessity of the deal about that one has to be hopeful. That has been his good a country to let it go without a fight. That is why I am doing what I am doing.



Chrétien in Saskatchewan: his Acadians sent was attractive

France, François Mitterrand was a cabinet minister in 1947—and he became president in 1981. I have remained close to the political scene. I was out only four years, and in those four years I lectured in politics in universities—taking on international affairs, defense, the environment, finance, Indian affairs, foreign affairs.

Maclean's: You have served as Indian affairs minister. What are your views on this past summer's crisis with native people?

Chrétien: This is the most difficult social problem we have in Canada today and it has to have a higher priority on the agenda of govern-

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FALLING OUT OF FAVOR

IN QUEBEC, CHRETEN IS A HARD SELL

Shawiniga jewelry-store worker Thibault Jocas, 51, remembers the 1980s as a time of excitement—and personal commitment to politics. Inspired, as much by local MP Jean Chretien's charisma as by Prime Minister Pierre Trudeau's leadership, Jocas became a volunteer for the *Rouges*—the Liberals—and followed politics actively throughout the ensuing decade. But very enthusiasm waned in 1984, when John Turner defeated Chretien for the Liberal leadership. Now, as a winter child settles over the city of 21,000, 185 km northeast of Montreal, Jocas makes time for all parties—but not for politics. She says that she cannot remember the last time anyone scolded Chretien in Shawiniga. And she adds that the political situation in Quebec has evolved so much since Chretien resigned from Parliament in 1986 that Shawiniga's most famous son might no longer live at home. "We have changed," said Jocas. "Quebec has changed. More and more people, especially the young, are thinking about independence."

For Chretien and the centralized form of Canadian federalism that he represents, that is becoming a painful reality. Although he no longer lives in Shawiniga, his roots in the region run deep. His grandfather, Franois Chretien, was a Liberal organizer and mayor of neighboring St-Hippolyte-de-Goth. His parents, Wilfrid Chretien and Marie Benoit, once owned a grocery at the St. Maurice River, which flows through Shawiniga. And from 1903 to 1906, he represented the ridings of St. Maurice, which includes Shawiniga, winning by overwhelming margins in eight federal elections. But after his June Liberal leadership victory, Chretien resigned as New Brunswick's Conservative riding in his search for friendly voters to send him back to Ottawa. And although people in Shawiniga have been talking about the possibility that Chretien may again run in his old hometown riding in the next federal election, it is clear that, among many, his star has faded. Said Jocas: "I think he would run a big risk running home—a big risk."

But indeed, even those who helped guide Chretien's early political career now harbor doubts about the new Liberal leader. Robert Beaudin, 52, was one of the dozen men who met at a luncheon in 1983 to plan Chretien's first federal election campaign. Now Beaudin says that Chretien has lost touch with Quebec—talking with the people who once stood at his side. He told Beaudin: "I think if he comes back here he should meet his old supporters again and find out what is really going on." But re-

establishing a Chretien power base would be an uphill battle. Beaudin, who allowed his own Liberal membership to lapse last year, says that the local riding association is in tatters. And he noted that Chretien's first stand against the March Laws constitutional accord turned the Liberal leader—perhaps irrevocably. Added Beaudin: "I think he was given more bad advice on that."

The political scene is not all that has changed in the Shawiniga area. During the early dec-



Beaudin: "I think he was given some bad advice."

ades of the century, the region played host to many industries. But changing markets and the concentration of industry in larger urban centers have eroded the area's economic base. With the current recession, the social and economic problems have grown. Over the past year, more than 1,000 people have lost their jobs, and the local unemployment rate is now 12 per cent. One of the remaining industries, the B. F. Goodrich tire plant, has already made layoffs and announced more for Jan. 3. Said Serge Lemieux of the Shawiniga Chapter of Con-

servation: "We have taken a beating."

For some Shawiniga residents, those economic hardships have only increased their resentment of their former MP. Raymond Thibault, 44, who had already been forced to seek for work elsewhere, lost his job at Canadian Pulp and Paper Products Ltd. in Trois-Rivières, 30 km south of Shawiniga, in 1985—and went to work as a cook 750 km away at the site of Quebec's massive James Bay hydroelectric development. Said Thibault, who was a Shawiniga hot work on Chretien's leave: "I have had to exile myself to James Bay, but it pays better than working for minimum wage as a cook here." Thibault does not hold his bitterness—in the fact that he blames Chretien for his problems. He declared, "If Chretien had been a good minister, he would have made sure we were taken care of; that the companies wouldn't close down."

Stalled. Other residents made similar comments. Said lawyer Pierre Andr  Hamel, 36: "Chretien has made himself a nice political career, but the people in this area have been suffering. It's nothing personal, but the town's fortunes seem to go down whenever his rise." Hamel is the president of the local chapter of the *Association Sociale St. Jean Baptiste*, which, after being founded for 15 years, has been revived and now has 500 members. He is also the host of a local operation radio show. "Noted Hamel, "People who call me say Jean Chretien has no clear political ideas and he has acted like a traitor. He stabbed John Turner in the back and he came the region for granted."

Still, some analysts say that Chretien could still win his old riding if the choice were made in the next federal election. Said Alan Gagnon, president of the Montreal jobbing firm G&H: "If he ran in Shawiniga he would win. He is popular. He doesn't work." However, many think he may no longer be enough. Said statistician Rod Beaudin, 39: "He's a good guy, but no more than that. Most of the time, I can't understand what he's talking about." Clearly, Chretien will have his work cut out if he wants to go home again.

NANCY WOOD in Shawiniga



Nothing Else

RUNNING AT FULL TILT

CHRETIEN HITS THE HUSTINGS

The first 16-campaign stops of the day along New Brunswick's picturesque coastline could bore the stamp of a master politician doing what had won him eight federal elections in the past. On Nov. 28, Jean Chretien, Liberal candidate in the 10th Bonaventure by-election, shook hands, traded jokes and exchanged cordial greetings with hundreds of voters in settings ranging from an Indian reserve to gas stations and village halls. But at the day's final meeting, the 100 Liberal workers gathered at Le Club du Village in the village of Cocagne gave every impression of preparing for battle. Before a stirring Chretien speech, Bernard Robichaud, the man who had coded his seat so that the Liberal leader could become a sitting MP, called the troops. Said Robichaud: "This election is not just important for us, it's crucial to the country." And he added: "Our primary mission is to get the people out to vote. They can't stay at home saying it's not worth the trouble."

Indeed the major concern of party workers in solidly Liberal Bonaventure last week appeared to be that voters in the province's southeastern, seaside riding will stay at home on Monday. Explained Liberal riding president Jean Cosneau: "Everybody believes Jean Chretien will win—in they just may not bother to go out and vote." But others claim that Chretien, who is facing few rivals, has larger concerns. The likelihood of 509 candidate Guy Cormier may be strengthened by visits of non-hamleters from across the country. With the Cosneaus voting not running a candidate, some Tories may also vote 1997. And some Bonaventais, angry that Chretien has pandered into their riding, may vote for Reformist Acadia candidate Nelson LeBlond. Still, many observers say that the only real issue is the image of Chretien's victory. Said Philippe Dumas, chairman of the political science department at the Université de Moncton: "I think he is going to win with a very comfortable majority."

Salt: In fact, while Chretien says that because Bonaventure is home of his perronnet (a representative type of Canada other than his native Quebec, I would have been difficult to find a safer seat). The area—two-thirds francophone—has, with one exception, sent Liberals to the House of Commons since 1935. Robichaud, a popular local businessman, was elected in 1984 with 27,650 votes—compared with 18,525 received by the Tory

challenger. And Chretien, who with his wife, Anne, has taken up temporary residence in a seaside chalet in Cap-Pel, 35 km northeast of Moncton, has the support of several prominent provincial Liberals. One is Carole Thériault, MHA for Kent South, who named Paul Martin's New Brunswick campaign for the June federal party leader Audrey McLaughlin. Said Chretien: "I'm for her. And people here are really



Missing a child in Monctonville: a master politician who won eight elections

asking to him. He is taking this seriously."

That seriousness seems to be reflected in Chretien's schedule. After Robichaud resigned his seat on Sept. 24, the Liberal leader made weekly visits to the riding and began campaigning full time on Nov. 24. His first day on the campaign trail was 16 hours long—and he has continued that pace. On Nov. 26 alone, Chretien visited an Indian reserve, a mall, a restaurant, a senior citizens' residence, two credit union offices and four businesses and factories. He also held a meeting in a village hall. All before the evening activities began. Said Chretien: "I think I'm going to win, but to win these people for granted would be an insult to them."

Declared Jean Guy-Coggin, organizer of a road-melting factory in the village of Cocagne: "I'm not a slave with any party but you've got to be impressed if the future prime minister comes into your place and shakes your hand."

B-Vibe: Well, there are inspiring doles. In a can-se-out exchange, voters greeted Chretien warmly, but he seemed less comfortable in larger gatherings. Appearing before 500 students at Mount Allison University in Sackville, a hostile Chretien looked out at Bryan Gold, candidate for the reformist Blocacque party, warning him of "looking fat of democracy."

Support for the star, meanwhile, appears to be strong and budding. Cormier, 42, a fisherman with roots that stretch back 200 years in the area, said Martin's "The people of Bonaventure don't want an outsider." The father of four has adopted the slogan "From Bonaventure, for Bonaventure." His campaign has been inspired by visits from Nova Scotia NDP Leader Alexa McDonough, and he may get even more support from the expected participation at the next prime ministerial election by Stephen Harper, a co-founder of the Maritime Fulle-

ment Union. "I feel confident. I am not intimidated by the Liberal leader coming here."

For his part, Chretien has seemed repeatedly not to neglect the interests of Bonaventure if he is elected. He declared last week, "When I get up in the House, it will be the member for Bonaventure speaking." Added riding president Jean Cosneau: "It wouldn't be at all bad for the next prime minister to have represented Bonaventure." Clearly, the first that Chretien could one day occupy the top political office in the nation will influence at least some decisions in next week's vote.

GLEN ALLEN on Cap-Pel

DAN COOPER/REUTERS

SMIRNOFF
Is Quite Smirnoff.

A HINT OF HOPE IN THE GULF

In the brainfrazzled chamber of the United Nations Security Council, cliques and apoplexy mingled uneasily. Beasts in a gigantic mural drooping a mythical phoenix rising over battle-scarred terrain, a sword smacking the monster dragon beneath its claws, the things seemed muted half an hour for the man who had single-handedly tamed the council's 2,000th session into what he rightly called a "watershed." For three weeks, U.S. Secretary of State James Baker had jostled from Bermuda to Moscow, Cairo and Bogota, lobbying leaders of the council's other member states to defuse the crisis. But by the time Baker strode to the head of the limousine stopped last week, only 35 hours before Washington's month-long term in the Security Council's revolving presidency was to end, he had already crisscrossed Asia and the Americas at any risk of surprise. With a lightning of his gavel, Baker presided over the United Nations' strongest thrust yet to Iraq President Saddam Hussein: the adoption of Resolution 678, authorizing member states to use "all means necessary" against him unless he withdraws from Kuwait by Jan. 15.

Although the wording did not explicitly refer to military force and Baker termed the 47-day countdown a "pause for peace," few delegates to the packed chamber doubted the import of the 12-to-2 vote. Only China, among the 15 council members, abstained, and that, too, was a victory because Beijing could have vetoed the measure. Then, less than 24 hours after the vote, President George Bush tentatively called a White House news conference to offer the first hint of hope in the Persian Gulf crisis. In a stunning reversal of his previous refusal to deal with the Iraqis directly, he

IRAQ ACCEPTS GEORGE BUSH'S OFFER TO HOLD DIRECT TALKS BEFORE THE UN DEADLINE

invited Foreign Minister Tariq Aziz to Washington next week and announced that Iraq would go to Baghdad between Dec. 15 and the UN deadline for Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait.

On Saturday, Hussein accepted the offer, although he had earlier dismissed the adoption of the resolution as "a costly mistake." "Americans are still influenced by Rumsfeld's mood," he said. "Rumsfeld is not a Rumsfeld now," he said.

A number of UN resolutions were issued for the first and only time four decades ago—so understood the Kuwait War. As Youssef Achmed, Arab League chief at Addis, who, with Cuba, opposed the invasion, put it, "In the minds of the United Nations, this will long be remembered as the war resolution." Other foreign ministers, including the Soviet Union's Eduard Shevardnadze, hailed Baker's shrewd marshaling of a global consensus on the Gulf. But the U.S. secretary found his diplomatic triumph undercut by misgivings: domestic criticism that he was manipulating the United Nations to lend legitimacy to increasingly controversial U.S. policy in the Gulf. Said Ted Galen Carpenter, direc-



Joe Clark votes "Yes" in the Security Council; Bush (center) foregoes membership after Baker's shrewd marshaling of a global consensus

tor of foreign policy studies at Washington's libertarian Cato Institute. "Here we have a kind of Hollywood movie-set version of international security. This puts a very impressive international license on what is really a U.S. operation."

Indeed, at the very moment the Security Council was approving the global show of solidarity and muscle, a parade of American Democratic leaders and former military commanders was lined up in Capitol Hill. Most urged Bush to delay entering a potentially disastrous conflict. Sen. Christopher "The support for Bush's position has been eroding steadily as the American people have contracted for probable cost. The President now faces the very major prospect of leading a very serious divided country into war."

Bain said he is sending Baker to Iraq with nothing but a "Washington-to-demonstrate that he would 'go the extra mile for peace.'" But he refused to back down from his demands for Iraq's unconditional withdrawal from Kuwait. And the President presented his qualifications for the measure: U.S. military buildup on the Gulf, scheduled to reach well over 400,000 troops by year's end. Said Jadhaf Komer, a Middle East scholar at Washington's nonpartisan Brookings Institution, of the prospective dialogue with Baghdad: "We're going to be watching a very interesting diplomatic dance in the weeks to come."

In fact, Bush's sudden gesture appeared to be aimed less at Iraq than at mounting concern in a nation still haunted by the ghosts of conflict just in testimony before the Senate

armed services committee last week, former defense secretary James Schlesinger evoked the specter of Vietnam. He predicted that, despite a multinational force backing up U.S. troops in the Gulf, American soldiers would incur 90 percent of the casualties in a conflict. And similar worries, retired rear admiral Gene La Rocque, director of Washington's independent Center for Defense Information, estimated that Baghdad could be captured within three months. But to do so, he said, would cost U.S. forces 24,000 dead and 35,000 wounded.

Also appearing before the committee: retired admiral William Cowe, former chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff under Ronald Reagan, cautioned Bush to give the UN's economic embargo against Iraq enough time to take effect. Added Garry "I cannot picture War in my mind, it's not here. It's mine."

Many of those concerns had been stated in Ottawa only hours before. External Affairs Minister Joe Clark flew to the United Nations, where he scored in one of six co-sponsors of Resolution 678. In the Commons, Clark issued his most aggressive defense yet of Canadian participation in the multinational Gulf force. But opposition was muted: Prime Minister Brian Mulroney's appeal for a unanimous show of Canadian support for the measure. Instead, the House divided 111 to 82, although party lines, in a vote on the measure that was voted to go to the Security Council. Said Clark: Opposition

Leader Herb Gray: "We will not give the government a blank cheque for any and all action. This resolution could put countries like Canada on the road to world war."

New Democratic Party defense critic John Brown described Washington as "in dangerous ally." At the same time, party leader Audrey McLaughlin said that by not allowing enough time for economic sanctions to take their toll on Iraq, Mulroney risked a war that could cost Canadian lives. And after the 75 vote, Clark said that Canadian forces will remain in the Gulf until the conflict is resolved. He added, "We don't send people there only to bring them home when the purpose for which they were sent is triggered."

In Washington, Bush also made it clear that he has been wrestling with the momentous mass of committing lives to the struggle against Iraq. He warned that, in any Gulf conflict, he will not permit the mistakes of Vietnam, and he grew emotional as he described his "heartrending" read from servicemen's families. But when asked if he would send a child of his own to the Gulf, he had no clear reply. "I've been there," he said, referring to his own second World War experience as a navy fighter pilot whose aircraft was shot down by the Japanese in 1944. "I know what it's like to have fellow comrades and see him die in battle. It's worth it." How many lives is it worth? Added Bush: "All I know is that if one American soldier has to go to war, that soldier will have

CASE PACKAGES FOR MOSCOW

German case packages began to arrive in the Soviet Union, part of hundreds of thousands of dollars' worth of international aid aid promised to Moscow to prevent strengthening the winter. In Ottawa, External Affairs Minister Joe Clark announced that Canada will provide an additional \$150 million in loan credits to the Soviets, supplementing the \$400 million in Wheat Board credits still available in there. And in Moscow, President Mikhail Gorbachev said that because of his country's deepening economic and political crisis, he will not travel to Oslo as planned to accept his Nobel Peace Prize.

BALGARIAN COLLAPSE

The government of Bulgarian Prime Minister Andrei Lukanov collapsed after just two months in office. One year ago, Lukanov and other reform Communists overthrew hard-line Communist leader Todor Zhivkov and, in June, Lukanov's Socialist became the only ex-Communist in Eastern Europe to serve as the prime minister. But the three days of reform and the country's crippled economy led opposition groups to call a general strike that forced Lukanov's resignation. A caretaker coalition is expected to govern until elections are held.

A DUBIOUS CELEBRITY

At a Western Africa summit in Mali, leaders of Liberia's two warring factions agreed to an immediate ceasefire at their nearly year-long conflict. But the armed rebel against authority over who would rule Liberia. Although interim President Andrew Sawyer declared that he would govern, rebel leader Charles Taylor insisted that he would continue to control the areas occupied by his militia, which covers most of the country.

KILLINGS IN BANGLADESH

More than 20 people were killed and 250 wounded in fighting between security forces and protesters in Bangladesh since Nov. 27, when President Hosni Mubarak limited a student's state of emergency. In Dhaka, 68, a student was arrested who acted as a witness in a bloodless coup in 1982. But the actions 100 only violence triggered by a six-week opposition campaign to overthrow him.

BRIGHTENING TENSIONS

Peace negotiations in Northern Ireland failed by an ancient suspicion of violence by the Irish Republican Army, the British army dispatched 600 additional soldiers to Ulster, bringing their total to about 11,000.



Great hosts can use a silent partner.

ity of approval for increased exports of its flowers and sugar to the American market.

As well, only a day after Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev reversed his three-month-long refusal to approve military loans to the Gulf, he received a \$4.6-billion economic aid package for his beleaguering economy from Saudi Arabia—a fiercely anti-Communist kingdom. The Saudis did not even have diplomatic relations with the Kremlin until just over two months ago.

Baker's invitation of Cuban Foreign Minister Andres Malmgren to his White House state visit on the night before the vote also lodged long-held hostilities. Analysts credited Baker's persuasive powers for convincing Malmgren to drop Cuba's threats to link the Gulf vote to another controversial resolution that would have called for a UN-appointed commission for Palestinian in Israel's West Bank.

In Baghdad, however, Hussein's ruling council said that direct contact with the Americans will enable Iraq to link the Palestinian issue to the Gulf conflict and all other outstanding Middle East issues. The Iraqi dictator has consistently taken the position that only diplomatic moves that deal with all of the region's conflicts will enable Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait. But Vice-President Dan Quayle said on Saturday that the U.S.-Iraq talks are intended only to explain the implications of the UN resolution to Hussein and his representatives.

Meanwhile, one of Baker's most pivotal tactical victories during his campaign for the support of the resounding disavowals from human rights activists. Despite an official administration ban on "high-level official exchanges" with Beijing since last year's massacre at Tiananmen Square, Baker met twice over the past month with Chinese Foreign Minister Qiao Qubai—signaling an end to China's ostracism from the world community. In the process, he convinced the Chinese not to veto the resolution, a power that is held in one of the Security Council's five permanent members.

Then, Beijing's leadership, apparently confident on American acquiescence and the diversion of world attention by the Gulf war, cracked down on student dissidents. When the new wave of arrests and trials last week elicited protests from the White House, the human rights organization Asia Watch issued an angry statement denouncing Bush for sending "the wrong message at the wrong time."

The administration's China action, coupled with Bush's meeting in Geneva two weeks ago with Syrian President Hafez al-Assad, the leader of a country still identified as the guiding force behind some of the most brutal acts of international terrorism, is raising issues about how high a price Washington may have to pay for its Gulf stand. Indeed, when Bush offered his olive branch to Hussein, many critics expressed relief. As Canadian Ambassador Yves Fortier noted, the son-of-a-bitch of the night before, when many of the delegates feared that they had unleashed the dogs of war, gave way to a sudden, cautious glimmer of optimism.

MARCI McDONALD in New York City

ISRAEL

A spreading terror

Nine Israelis die in terrorist attacks

When Jewish residents in Jerusalem threatened to leave down Dina Mariani's butcher shop and kill her children unless he stopped employing Arabs, he fired his three Israeli staff members. In another sign of heightening tensions in the city, Rabbi David Bernum, who advocates dialogue with Palestinians, said that he has started to car pool to enable his 10-year-old daughter to avoid the risk of taking a public bus home from school. And few Jews now venture into the Arab half of Jerusalem. In fact, throughout Israel, Jews have evacuated following an outbreak of border clashes and revenge attacks between Jews and Arabs.

Last week alone, nine Israelis were killed and more than 200 others were injured in three separate incidents. And Israeli security experts said that although the attacks appear scattered, they all seem to have been inspired by Iraqi President Saddam Hussein. Two assassins of Kuwaiti Safi Col. Ibrahim Ghanem, Israel's deputy military spokesman, "People are being provoked into action by the general impression of an explosion created by the Persian Gulf crisis and certain events that followed."

The most prominent of these events was the Oct. 6 Israeli police killings of 20 Palestinian rioters in Jerusalem's Temple Mount. A month later, Rabbi Meir Kahane, leader of the radical Kach movement, was assassinated in New York City, allegedly by an Egyptian-born American. He had led to an eruption of Jewish violence against Palestinians, "An explosion towards Israel," said Hannah Smith, a veteran Israeli opposition journalist, "but as all time high." Jewish concerns also focused on Hussein. The Iraqi army has positively tried to deflect international condemnation of its invasion of Kuwait by co-opting it to Israel's occupation of the West Bank and Gaza Strip. And he has repeatedly threatened to strike at Israel. Many analysts say that Hussein's threat of anti-Israeli rhetoric has helped to spur attacks on Jews.

Even as tensions escalate, Israel is facing growing international pressure to begin peace talks with the Palestinians. And last week, the UN Security Council was considering a resolution to send an international team to monitor the human rights situation in the Israeli-occupied territories. The council passed another resolution

two weeks ago calling for a peace conference to begin peace talks with the Palestinians. And last week, the UN Security Council was considering a resolution to send an international team to monitor the human rights situation in the Israeli-occupied territories. The council passed another resolution



A policeman guards a bus after it was attacked; tensions grow

last month condemning the Temple Mount killings and ordering an investigation of the police action. But the Israeli government refused to cooperate with the inquiry, and last week Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin again accused the United Nations of interfering in his country's domestic policies.

The latest round of violence began at dawn on Nov. 25. A mob dressed in an Egyptian border-guard uniform crept about 300 m across the line into Israel and stationed himself in a ditch beside a highway about 20 km northwest of Elat, a resort town in southern

Israel. Then, he opened fire on passing vehicles with an M-16 assault rifle, killing four Israelis and wounding 24 others before he Israeli security guard shot him. The guard ran back across the border, where Egyptian snipers fired on him. Israeli Minister of Defense Ariel Sharon said that the attack was the work of a "small group of Egyptian terrorists." Egyptian Minister of Defense Abdel-Hamid Moussa said that Cairo, which signed a peace accord with Israel in 1979, was committed to peace, and he stated that the attack was the work of a "small group of Egyptian terrorists." Egyptian Minister of Defense Abdel-Hamid Moussa said that Cairo, which signed a peace accord with Israel in 1979, was committed to peace, and he stated that the attack was the work of a "small group of Egyptian terrorists." Egyptian Minister of Defense Abdel-Hamid Moussa said that Cairo, which signed a peace accord with Israel in 1979, was committed to peace, and he stated that the attack was the work of a "small group of Egyptian terrorists."

Earlier that day, in Israeli police last night, a Palestinian gunman fired at the Lebanese coast and took his last, suffering from four of the five men on board. Meanwhile, in Israeli-occupied security zone in Lebanon, a two-page got on towards two Israeli soldiers and disarmed explosives that they had strapped to her body, killing herself and slightly injuring the two soldiers.

Two days later, five Israeli soldiers were killed and a sixth was wounded in a gun battle with Palestinian guerrillas in southern Lebanon. The Israeli government confirmed in a statement that the guerrillas were members of the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine. Front leader George Hishab has advocated attacks against Israel. In retaliation against the American military presence in Lebanon, Syria's President Hafez al-Assad said that Syria's Foreign Minister, a member of the Rabbinic Human Rights Watch peace advocacy group. "There is a heightened sense of national honor among the Palestinian population."

In turn, Arab attacks have had a "snowball effect." For now, added by promoting Jews to murder Arabs. They have also led the country generally to become more supportive of the political right. Asst. Defense Minister, a peace activist and Jerusalem city council member, said the leftists are facing their toughest challenge ever in this already flagging efforts to persuade Israelis to trade territory for peace. "The last few weeks have started an era of terror among Jews," declared Hoffman, who lives in Baka, where three Jews were ordered to death in October. "A tribe in your neighborhood makes it harder to speak one's mind to your local grocery store owner." Although an edge peace still reigns in the Persian Gulf, in Israel the casualties from a still-unsettled war are growing alarmingly.

MARY NEMETH with ERIC SILVER in Jerusalem



The Majors arriving at 10 Downing Street, concerning upcoming origins

BRITAIN

A Major miracle

The new prime minister moves into No. 10

At 10.39 last Wednesday morning, John Major and his wife, Norma, left their home at 11 Downing Street, where the chancellor of the exchequer traditionally lives. When they returned 45 minutes later in the morning, dark-end street. They went into the prime minister's official residence at No. 10, waving little more than an hour earlier by Margaret Thatcher. Physically, it was a move of just a few yards to the house next door. But in terms of power, it was an enormous leap. Major had been a backbench MP, where the Queen, in a ceremony known as "kissing hands," had asked him to form a government. Major, the choice of Conservative MPs to succeed Thatcher as their leader, promptly accepted—and at 47 became Britain's 50th prime minister and the country's youngest leader in the 20th century.

With little fanfare, the high-schooled dropout completed a remarkable run to power

Major had been a cabinet minister for just 41 months. Until he took over the sensitive post of chancellor of the exchequer in October, 1989, however, few Britons would have recognized the generally dull politician. But his dogged struggle to overcome his unimpressive image in the run of a sensitive crisis performer from working-class south London provided a parallel of success at Thatcher's Britain—and a quickly forming legend that Conservatives eagerly seized upon to exploit in middle- and working-class voters. Sent to David Major, a key Major supporter, "He has never forgotten his origins, never grown away from the people among whom he was brought up."

For Thatcher, the victory of the man considered to be her personal choice as successor provided at least a consolation prize after the burnings of the previous week. Then she had failed to win an outright victory in a leadership vote against her bitterest party

rival, Michael Heseltine. Her support drifting away, Thatcher faced her own worst-case scenario: Heseltine as her replacement. But she quickly stepped aside, letting Major and his friends, secretary Douglas Hogg, enter the second round of voting. In that contest last week, Major won 158 votes, one short of a majority among the 352 Tory MPs. Heseltine captured just 131 votes, 25 fewer than he had won against Thatcher. Evidently feeling that he could not win, Heseltine immediately endorsed Major as did Hogg, who received only 58 votes. Within minutes, Thatcher crossed from her residence at No. 10 to Major's next door, where she unlocked the window and said that she was "thrilled and delighted" in the winner.

Major's position as Thatcher's favorite gave his political opponents their first ammunition to attack him. They also scored on Thatcher's farewell remarks last week to staff members at Conservative party headquarters—typed, recorded and reported by a London newspaper—that she would be "a very good backseat driver" even after she stepped down. For his part, Labour Party leader Neil Kinnock dismissed Major as a "Thatcherite," adding, "The British people wanted change and this Tory party has given them more of the same." Declared Kinnock's deputy, Roy Hattersley: "What we've got is Thatcherism without Margaret Thatcher."

In fact, most analysts maintain that Major will stabilize some change. The new prime minister defiantly proclaimed that "I am my own man," and in his first action last week he demonstrated a degree of independence from his former boss. He vowed that Britain would play "a leading role" in building the European Community, a departure from Thatcher's notoriously cautious attitude towards the EC. He also overhauled Thatcher's cabinet. For one thing, Major immediately appointed his close friend, the leading party strategist, Norman Lamont, in his former post of the treasury, a crucial cabinet position. For another, he brought back Heseltine, who resigned as defense secretary in 1988. Major made his own decision, which gave him control of the line of the government's widely disliked poll tax. That flat-rate tax on all adults to finance local government had been one of Thatcher's pet projects. Lamont has proposed linking the charge to taxpayers' incomes to counter the accusations that it unfairly taxes the poor the most.

Heseltine's success in finding ways to make the poll tax palatable will be a key to the Conservatives' future electoral prospects. Also critical will be the performance of the new prime minister. Party strategists were already predicting him last week as an example of the supposedly elusive, "classless" Britain that they often modern Conservatives exemplify. Major himself, standing before the assembled supporters outside No. 10, vowed to create a "society of opportunity" in which what people achieve "will depend upon their talent, their application and their good fortune."

All three qualities played a role in Major's

own journey from obscurity. Both his predecessors as Tory leader, Thatcher and Edward Heath, came from modest lower-middle-class backgrounds, that Major's family history is almost Thatcherian at both the depths of its poverty and its exotic nature. His father, Thomas, had been a pugilist and theatre artist in some shows. But in 1943, when his son John was born, Thomas Major was 46 and had already retired from three businesses. He ran a small company among garden-gnomes, and the family lived in a modest bungalow on the southern outskirts of London. When he went bankrupt in 1955, however, the family's fortunes plummeted. They moved into two-story rooms in Britain, one of south London's poorest areas. John Major later recalled that one of the other tenants was a burglar.

He attended Ruthin Grammar School in nearby Wrexham and, by his own admission, put little attention to his studies. One brave student, Mike Barnett, now 47, last week remembered Major as an exceptional athlete with a special love for cricket, but a lazy pupil. Barnett, who now lives near Ottawa and is a communications consultant with the defence department, recalled that Major openly criticized the school's regulations. "He'd speak his mind," said Barnett, "and he never let anyone push him around, which is retrospectively his success."

Major dropped out of school at 16, failed a test to be a bus conductor, spent eight months collecting unemployment benefits and worked as a construction laborer. At 22, he obtained a job as a trainee clerk with London's Standard Chartered Bank, which soon sent him to Nigeria. That ended in great disaster, however, when he was working as a senior clerk and broke his leg in several places. The staff walked with a limp.

Returning to London, Major rose through the ranks and eventually took charge of Standard's public relations department. At the same time, he joined the local Conservative party organization, and in 1968, he was a seat on the Lambeth district council in south London. One of his fellow councillors there was Ken Livingstone, now a left-wing Labour MP. Livingstone lost work involved that Major needed him to build more public housing in the area and strongly opposed right-wing Tory councillors who displayed critical attitudes towards the area's large nonwhite population. Livingstone said that if he right Conservatives expect Major to be at all, "they will get quite a horrible shock."

In fact, despite Thatcher's patronage, Major has a reputation as a conservative on economic matters but as a relative liberal in social affairs. After he first won a seat in the Commons in 1979, he joined the so-called Right Club, an informal grouping of young Tory MPs who were then critical of many of Thatcher's more extreme measures. Still, within a few years he was deemed the prime minister's right-hand man, and she quickly promoted him. Despite her supporters' respect, displeasure and criticism, she said that they expected Major's government to be more sensitive to social concerns than Thatcher's had been. Modern Prime, pro-

duct of the Adam Smith Institute, a right-wing think-tank in London that engaged close ties with Thatcher's office, declared, "Now that the nation has been put on its upward track, it's time to build on those successes and spend a far more time solidifying the edges."

As Major took office, he was clearly enjoying the public fanfare granted to most new leaders. The first opinion poll conducted after his victory gave the Tories an 11-point lead over Labour, the first time in 18 months that they have been ahead of the opposition. But that lead will not stay steady as the new prime minister tackles the troubles that con-

tributed to Thatcher's unpopularity.

Aside from overhauling the poll tax, Major faces nagging economic problems, including 10 billion-pound inflation and a lingering recession. And in mid-December, Major has a recent Britain as a critical moment as those in which leaders of the 12 EC nations will debate the diverse nature of political and economic union. As he undertakes those problems, the new leader will clearly need to exercise the same talent—and enjoy the same luck—that catapulted him to power in the first place.

ANDREW PHILLIPS in London

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business leader Neil May, who elected to keep personal details of his life. She said that he joined the party, which advocates personal freedom, because he opposes high taxes, efficient bilingualism and tight gun-control laws.

Even what Tymoski has disclosed about himself is sketchy. He left Conservative politics in 1969 with a boat \$5 in his pocket, he says, in search of a better life. He spent a few months in Sweden, then emigrated in 1970 to Canada, leaving his mother and sister behind in Warsaw. Though businesses he established in Canada and Peru, he claims to have amassed a personal fortune of \$5 million.

Records at Ryerson Polytechnical Institute in Toronto confirm that Tymoski took four courses in computer science and mathematics in 1970 and 1971. He later got a job at Bell-Canada (Canada) Ltd., first as a staff engineer and then as a salesman. Allan Haidley, a general manager at the Mississauga-based computer firm, remembers Tymoski as "a loser" who was "hardworking, insecure and a little strange." Allan Haidley "He showed absolute determination to reach his goals, whatever they were."

Associates say that after Tymoski founded Transduction 15 years ago, he transformed the small computer firm into a thriving business with 26 employees and clients that include General Motors and DeLorean, the start-up. Tymoski owns two-thirds of the company, which co-develops Frank Olin's claims now has annual revenues of between \$5 million and \$10 million. Tymoski also owns a satellite firm near Athens, Ohio.

In 1981, Tymoski took a holiday in Peru and decided to stay, eventually taking out citizenship last April. He established new business

enterprises there, including Petrologica, a petroleum transport company. Petrologica failed, for reasons that remain unclear. Tymoski also works as a consultant to the Peruvian military, which allegedly represents the company's huge.

What followed was a strange trip into the Peruvian jungle with local Indians, in ex-

cess and caterpillars. They were hit and killed. The better I had to eat them, risk my cat and remove liquid from inside and then put them into my mouth and suck out the fat. Every caterpillar supplied me with enough calories to walk at the jungle for the next couple of hours. I had one choice: either to let it be in the jungle and die, or eat the caterpillar."

In 1982, Tymoski founded a cable television company, TVN, in Iquitos, a jungle outpost on the Amazon River. It has about 3,000 subscribers who, through four TVN satellite dishes, can receive 10 channels from Peru and neighboring countries. Two Brazilian television stations completed of broadcast plans, and a Peruvian television company investigated their claims. No changes were laid.

In Iquitos (population 240,000), Tymoski later set up Digitec, a radio telephone system, opened a heavy restaurant called La Madera and bought a farm to supply it. He also started a newspaper as a philanthropist. Tymoski's business manager in Iquitos, Pedro Garza Morales, said that he contributed time and money to local orphanages. "He was always interested in the spiritual way of the people," Garza told Morales. It was also in Iquitos that Tymoski met Myra Gonzalez, Petra Velasco, an biologist (Gonzalez who ended the use for signs of bodily disease), and they were married in Canada in 1984. Court records show that in their first year, Palma, divorced her earlier

that year on grounds of adultery with Gonzalez, with whom Tymoski had a daughter.

After Tymoski's success in Poland last week, Garza said, about 25 local authorities signed a letter to him pledging their moral support at the second round of voting. They included four



Tymoski with his wife, Dora; a valuable electronic

note that Tymoski described in Soviet Duglas a spiritual transformation. Although largely a protest on his economic scores, the book allowed the following account:

"Traveling in the jungle I found myself close to starvation. I had to learn how to eat

himself. Communist party member? Who knows? Communist is similar to the national plan I published a month ago in his book, *Soviet Duglas*. I'm happy. Communist will have his support here."

Tymoski: What do you think of communism? **Tymoski:** I've never seen a Communist in my life. I've seen totalitarian governments, but I've never seen a Communist. I think [communism] was a step.

Markiewicz: In your book, you quote Mao Tse-tung and Che Guevara. Do you agree with their ideas?

Tymoski: Each one was good for the time for them. I quoted a few sentences from their works for the purpose of explaining certain economic structure. We use the results of a second war. There is an economic war going on—not a military war, but an economic war. It's not just as old as military war and has the same number of victims around the world.

Markiewicz: If you seek Solidarity candidate Lech Walicki in the next election, how will you explain your success?

Tymoski: Because of what he has not done. He has not stopped this tragic crime in Poland, where the economy has dropped 40 per cent—more if we use the real figures.

Markiewicz: You have endorsed the Solidarity movement's economic and social program, which has been endorsed by the International Solidarity Fund. How do you expect to get Western support if you lose the support of the IMF?

Tymoski: I am not planning to lose the support of the IMF. Dora [Tymoski's Minister Lech Walicki] work for the IMF or decide what for Poland? Don't we have the power to determine our future as an independent Poland?

Markiewicz: If you are elected on Dec. 2, will you do a lot to work as president?

Tymoski: I don't think it's possible to think at it right now. It's an election for president, as far as some criteria, and will be very useful to consider the new without taking the time economy

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THERE IS AN ECONOMIC WAR

Two days after Canadian Senator Tymoski stated a motion, aptly describing himself in Poland's presidential election, Markiewicz's *Compendium Duglas*谭克明 introduced the controversial resolution at his company headquarters in Warsaw's Palace of Culture. Excerpt.

Markiewicz: Although you are competing as an individual, do you have the support of any political groups in Poland? **Tymoski:** I cannot say right now. Some say in the election campaign, and I don't think it's necessary to disclose this information.

Markiewicz: Do you have the support of other Communists?

Tymoski: Well, I second as the past two weeks of the campaign that the proposals of

former mayor, the president of the chamber of commerce and the Roman Catholic bishop of Igouze. And the Lithuanians nicknamed him "the Polish Fascism," a reference to Peru's Alberto Fujimori, an aggressive and political leader who was a presidential runoff election last July by opposing the harsh economic measures proposed by the free-market, celebrated economist Mario Vargas Llosa.

The biggest controversy of Tymoski's presidential campaign erupted last month when he accused Mazowiecki of treason for allegedly selling Poland's most successful companies to foreigners at bargain prices. Stripped mem-

bers of local media traveled from a midtown, a bar and a hotel. Tymoski failed to substantiate his charges, and he later conceded that they were based on an erroneous reading of a governmental document.

Last week, he also accused prime minister Jacek Kuron of having expressed sympathy for outgoing President Jaruzelski and his 1983 decision to impose martial law. Polish journalists have criticized Tymoski, whose campaign staff includes former Communists, for not having been a member of Solidarity. At the same time, however, Minister Krzysztof Kucinski confirmed published reports that Tymoski had travelled to

Poland seven times in the 1980s as a result of the Polish consulate in Lisbon—reports that the candidate has dismissed as "lies." And Tymoski's apocryphal claims to the question of whether he would serve in Poland if he loses the election added to his image as an old soldier.

Surprisingly, in a country where democratic institutions reformed only last year after more than four decades of authoritarian Communist rule, just 61 per cent of Poland's 27.5 million eligible voters cast ballots. And as the aftermath of Tymoski's strong showing the first campaign, Solidarity began moving reluctantly towards a reconciliation. A majority of Solidarity's 265 members in parliament passed a resolution to support Walesa in the runoff. Walesa himself asked Mazowiecki to stay in office at least until new parliamentary elections are held next spring. And Walesa's most outspoken critic, Solidarity intellectual Adam Michnik, asked voters to choose the lesser of two evils. And Michnik: "Walesa's victory will be a great risk for Poland, but Tymoski's would have to bring with it absolutely a great degradation of our country."

The central issue in the campaign now is the economy. Both Walesa and Tymoski had harshly criticized the so-called shock therapy program sought and led January by Finance Minister Leszek Balcerowicz. The radical program, which the International Monetary Fund supported, was designed to transform Poland's centrally planned economy into a free-market system as rapidly as possible. In the past 16 months, it has succeeded in checking hyperinflation, creating a stable exchange rate and filling stores with an ample supply of goods. But it did so at a heavy cost: prices of many staples more than doubled with the elimination of subsidies, and living standards dropped as heavy taxes reduced take-home pay. As well, nearly a million workers lost their jobs, a major setback in a country where full employment under the Communists had been a constitutional right. Even more unemployment would be expected in the next stages of the plan, which calls for the privatization of state industries and the closing of inefficient ones.

Last week, Walesa softened his criticism of the economic program. He said that, if elected, he would implement it—but with differences. That was a reference in part to his calls for social programs to cushion the harsh effects of the changes. If Walesa retains his own supporters and succeeds in winning over the 18 per cent of voters who backed Mazowiecki in the first round, the former Gdańsk shipyard electrician will become president. But as volatile as the political climate in Poland that some Mazowiecki supporters said that they would now vote for Tymoski, an outcome that Walesa's supporters would lead to "something like civil war." And if the 39 per cent of eligible voters who did not participate in the first round choose to take part in the runoff, political analysts said, anything could happen. Even, apparently, the election of a "man from Mars."

ANDREW BALDWIN and MARY NEMETHY in Toronto and BOGDAN TUDOR in Warsaw

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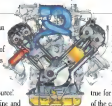
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Arriving at Ottawa airport: soaring fuel costs, massive layoffs, vacated office space and cancelled routes

BUSINESS

LOSING ALTITUDE

Ralph Mohammad said that he knew something was wrong last week when he and the rest of the staff at Air Canada's Halifax reservation centre were told to gather at their desks for a special meeting. At 1:05 p.m. on Monday, the company's regional sales manager walked into the room and read a statement announcing the airline's plans to close the office on July 9. At 1:45 p.m. the 97 full-time and 36 part-time employees were to give others Air Canada jobs in the area, the executive added, while the rest would be offered company-paid transfers or severance packages. "When I looked around the office, people were in shock," recalled Mohammad, 42, who joined the Halifax office 15 years ago. He wife, Marie, 42, a 27-year Air Canada employee, stood in a corner of the room, tears falling down her face. Said Mohammad: "Everyone knew the airline was having problems. But no one expected this."

In fact, the latest news of layoffs at headquarters at Air Canada—the company also revealed last week that it is planning to shut down reservations offices in Calgary, Edmonton and St. John's, NBS—as part of an industry-wide

AIR CANADA AND CANADIAN AIRLINES ARE FACING NEW CHALLENGES DURING TOUGH ECONOMIC TIMES

trend. Battered by rising fuel costs and the recession, small carriers are closing or slimming up. Meanwhile, Air Canada and its main rival, Canadian Airlines International Ltd., are slashing thousands of jobs, selling airplanes, vacating office space and cancelling unprofitable routes. Both of the country's major carriers are also trying to gear up for a possible increase in competition from U.S. airlines, who are trying to expand their services in Canada as part of a proposed "open skies" agreement

between the two countries. In the long run, Vladimir Shinkov, Air Canada's vice-president for governmental and industry affairs, expected last week, Canadian two major airlines may have to be chosen but to emerge in order to stay afloat in the rapidly changing air travel business.

For now, both Air Canada and Canadian Airlines are concentrating on trying to reduce costs. In addition to last week's announcement of massive layoffs, Air Canada said two months ago that it was cutting 3,900 jobs from its 22,000-person workforce, selling off three of its 117 aircraft and getting its 30-airway Montreal headquarters building, Place Air Canada, up for sale. Over the past two months, the airline has cancelled service to Atlantic, London, Madrid, Bombay and Singapore, and postponed indefinitely the planned introduction of service to Seoul next year. According to Steven Gorman, an analyst with First Monarch Securities Ltd., a Toronto investment dealer, those measures demonstrate that Air Canada—which the federal government protected at two stages in 1984 and 1988—has now adopted a tougher, leaner management style. This is finally an admission that, as a Crown

corporation, they were fat, bloated and inefficient," Gorman said. "They had to make these steps not just to thrive but to survive."

Some analysts say that Air Canada's unbridled willingness to make sweeping cuts may be related, at least in part, to the sudden departure of former president Pierre Jeannot as August. Forwards Ltd., an analyst with Toronto-based brokerage house Baring Waburg Inc., for one, says that Jeannot's departure—who said that he was retiring for personal reasons—would have favored the current campaign of widespread layoffs and cost reductions. Added Larkin, "Jeannot always fought the little guy." Among these new in the running to take over as president is businessman Michael Warren, who gained a reputation for toughness as president of Canada Post Corp. from 1981 to 1985.

Calgary-based Canadian Airlines International is also taking a no-nonsense approach to improving its balance sheets. Last week, the airline announced that it was eliminating five of its 21 vice-presidents—firing two and retiring

not offered to stand pay. "There are tougher times that lie ahead even after this," he said. Byron's emphasis on cost cutting appears to be long-term. Last week, the airline's parent company, FMA Corp. of Calgary, declared a \$19.4-million profit for the nine months ending July 30—partly as a result of a gain of \$84 million from the sale of aircraft. That compares with a loss of \$5.5 million in the same period a year earlier. Air Canada's profit for the nine-month period dropped to \$50 million, 46 per cent less than during the same period in 1989. Last week, Air Canada shares closed at \$4.35 on the Toronto Stock Exchange, while FMA stock sold at \$7.75—roughly about 40 and 50 per cent less than their highest prices over the past year.

To a large extent, the problems facing Canada's two major air carriers are similar to those affecting airlines around the world (page 48). That's a lesson from last August that Air Canada is doubling in the price of jet fuel, which now sells for about 80 cents a litre compared with 39 cents a litre in July. As a result, fuel costs, which used to amount to about 15 per cent of total airline revenues, now absorb about 30 per cent of revenues.

The impact on the airlines' profits is substantial. Analysts say that Air Canada's July 30 will likely be by nearly \$150 million per year if crude oil prices remain at current levels. The increase in fuel costs has left airlines with less profit—something they say they are likely to do at a time when the economy is already weak and many businesses are cutting back on travel expenses. Canadian Airlines has raised its ticket prices by an average of 14.2 per cent since last fall, becoming the first major airline to raise prices and plans another 5.8 per cent hike this week. In the same period, Air Canada

has increased its fares by an average of 20 per cent.

Air Canada executives say that further increases are likely to be needed to get the airline back to keep pace with expenses. To make matters worse, the deepening recession is already eating into airline passenger-traffic volume. Says analyst Larkin: "The airline business is extremely cyclical. When the economy is down, this industry is one of the first to suffer."

The combination of higher fuel prices, lower passenger volume and increasing competition has led to an industry-wide shake-out. So far this year, more than a dozen charter and small commuter airlines have run into financial problems, some of which they are declaring bankrupt. Worldwide Canada Inc. and City Express, which runs commuter flights to destinations in southern Ontario, Quebec and New Brunswick, later this month, creditors of latter Inc.

Business Notes

NOW, IT IS OFFICIAL

Canada's economic downturn has now met the definition of a recession—two consecutive quarters of decline in the total production of goods and services. Statistics Canada reported that the economy shrank by six per cent in the third quarter of this year, ending on Sept. 30, following a 3.9 per cent drop in the second quarter. The industry added that it sees no improvement in the near future.

GAT'S LAST CHANCE

The U.S. administration, which has threatened to walk away from international trade talks if there is no industry deal on lowering agricultural subsidies, authorized its position last week on the protectionist European Community. A circular Secretary Clayton Kretzler said that he no longer expects the EC to eliminate all subsidies to grain farmers, and offered to extend this week's talks in Brussels beyond the Dec. 7 deadline. "As long as we're making incremental progress," negotiators from 130 countries in the Uruguay Round of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) will also try to agree on 14 other topics, including tariff and non-tariff barriers to world trade.

REICHMANN'S RESTRUCTURE

The Toronto-based Reichmann family announced a major restructuring of its diverse energy holdings in Oryx & York Development Ltd. The restructuring includes spinning off the pipeline and oil-and-gas divisions of Interbrook Energy Inc. in two separate, publicly traded companies and purchasing the 10.7 per cent of the outstanding shares of Toronto-based Oryx Ltd. that they still own. Industry analysts say that the restructuring will likely save the \$850 million earned from the restructuring to help finance their 35-billion Casper West project in London.

INSURE FOR SALE

Crown Life of Toronto said that it would settle an unexpected amount after part of an \$4 per cent stake in Crown Life Insurance Co., Canada's second-largest life insurance firm, after several financial institutions expressed an interest in purchasing it.

FIRM TRADE IS SPREADING

Trade Minister John Crosbie, U.S. Trade Representative Carla Hills and Mexican Trade Minister Jaime Serra Puche are scheduled to meet this week while they are in Ottawa for the trade talks, to discuss how to accelerate a North American free trade area. Hills said that Canada's role in the free trade talks is still uncertain.



Ralph and Marie Mohammad: "people were in shock"

three—as part of a program to reduce the risks of over-investing in Asia. Last week, Western Inc. in 1988, Canadian Airlines has also cut 1,980 of its 15,000 employees, and five of its 95 aircraft and eliminated service to Amsterdam. Between now and next June, the company plans to get rid of another nine aircraft.

The cost cutting may be extended even further. Last week, Canadian Airlines chairman Rhyon Byron told Mackenzie that the company is still considering whether or not to sell its administrative building in Richmond, B.C., which the company says could raise about \$25 million and leave the building back. Declared Byron: "All the difficult things have been done. We have gotten the shape of the airline the way we want it. Now, the goal is to get the whole company a lot leaner." He added that in the current economic climate, the airline can-

will need to determine the fate of the debt-laden Quebec regional airline. At the same time, the failure of such a large number of small carriers provides welcome support for Canada's larger airlines, each of which controls a network of regional airlines that will benefit from discontinued competition.

But Air Canada and Canadian Airlines are under increasing pressure on another front. In December, Federal Transport Minister Douglas Lewis announced that Ottawa and Washington agreed to begin negotiations early in 1993 on a new bilateral air transport treaty that would capote concern in each country to address competition from airlines across the border. If the talks succeed, Canadian airlines will be able for the first time to fly between U.S. cities, instead of just from Canada to a U.S. city and back. U.S. airlines would have the same right in Canada.

Two months ago, both Air Canada and Canadian Airlines supported the open skies proposal on the grounds that it would enable them to service more U.S. points. But since then, officials for each of the major carriers have sound several major reservations about the prospect of unrestricted air travel between the two countries. Ryan, for one, says that American carriers have a better chance of penetrating the Canadian market—either based for Canadian expense—or than Canadian airlines have of gaining additional U.S. business. Added Ryan: "It is pretty tough to get a foothold down there." As well, some critics claim that an



Ryan: 'tougher times than we have ever seen before'

open-skies agreement would eliminate thousands of Canadian jobs. They also say that it would put pressure on domestic airlines to cancel services to many smaller communities and focus their efforts on more heavily trafficked routes, which tend to be more profitable. Lewis, however, says that Canadian workers have nothing to fear from cross-border deregulation. "If we get the open skies we want, there will be more jobs," the minister told *Maclean's* last week.

But that view is disputed by some airline analysts, who predict that Canada's two major carriers will be seriously hurt by merger because

of the competition from American airlines and the worldwide trend towards consolidation. For his part, Air Canada's Shewsky said that the announcement of an open-skies agreement would not be the silver bullet "for the loss of the Canadian aviation industry." He added that Canada's air carriers will have to learn to work together if they are to avoid becoming feeder airlines for the U.S. aviation industry.

In the meantime, Air Canada is pursuing another possible way of attracting new investment in order to finance future expansion. Last month, airline chairman Claude Taylor asked Ottawa to raise the legal ceiling on foreign investment in a domestic airline to 40 per cent, from the current 25 per cent. Air Ryan put it last week, "Our competitors must have an easier time working in the wings."

Ryan adds that he is confident that there will be room for two Canadian airlines even if Canada and the U.S. sign a new agreement. "We have no stomach," he declared, "for discussing any sort of merger." But a growing number of analysts say they doubt that his dream will be possible. Andrew Rennie, a Toronto-based regulatory lawyer, says that he fears that Ottawa will eventually allow Air Canada and Canadian Airlines to merge on the grounds that Canada can support only one major international carrier. If he is right, the wheels of change may soon become a tornado.

JORDY DUMONT and JORDY DUMONT in Toronto

SHAKEDOWN IN GLOBAL SKIES

Air Canada and Canadian Airlines have teamed up only two of the carriers. Spurred through many mergers, the industry is facing headwinds, downing passenger demand and high interest rates, some of those U.S. and European airlines can't handle money at an alarming rate. And the industry's leaders will likely get worse than what is in the air. For instance, the industry is a stagnant market. Declared Ronald Taylor, senior vice president of Airline Economics Inc., a Washington-based consulting firm, "The airlines are facing a bad year, and it's going to get much worse."

Spokesmen for the Montreal-based International Air Transport Association say its 206 member carriers will lose a combined total of \$2.3 billion this year, compared with a record profit of \$1.8 billion in 1991. In the United States, several airlines have been pushed to the brink of failure by sharply higher prices for jet fuel following Iraq's invasion of Kuwait last August, as a desperate bid to raise cash,

Pan American World Airways—which has lost \$2.3 billion over the past decade—agreed in October to sell its profitable U.S. to-Los Angeles International United Airlines for \$460 million. And last week, a U.S. judge allowed Eastern Airlines, which is operating under bankruptcy protection, to sell its Washington to \$157 million, the airline had accepted in a special, first bid, as other bidders that continues to fly this winter.

To attract more passengers, many U.S. airlines have begun to offer early two-class seat sales on domestic routes. Other carriers, including Chicago-based Midway Airlines, saw allowing travelers to sit at first-class cabins for the price of an economy ticket. Those measures will almost certainly make it more difficult for financially strapped carriers to remain in business. Taylor, for one, predicts that over the next few years as many as half of the 12 major U.S. airlines will go out of business. He added,

"The Gulf crisis is adding to the pressure in the weaker and helping the stronger."



Picking up costs are mounting

In addition to higher fuel prices, European airlines are also facing the prospect of increased competition. Until now, Europe's airline industry has been protected by a maze of government regulations and protectionist policies. But even if those restrictions fall, European airlines still face a 12-member European Community, which is a single market. Says Carlos, president of Scandinavian Airlines System, "The airline business is a matter of turbulence and change. Liberalization and new competition are at the core of the change." In anticipation of several national carriers have formed alliances. Among them, British Airways, now partly owned by British Airways and KLM Royal Dutch Airlines. Like their counterparts in North America, European travelers may soon have fewer airlines to choose from.

JORDY DUMONT



ALTER EGO

On the left, the classic Beefeater Dry Martini. On the right, its casual counterpart. Introducing the Dry Camar. Just begin your favorite camar with the deliciously dry taste of Beefeater instead of vodka. Then add lemon or lime juice, Wooten's onion sauce, Tabasco sauce, salt, pepper and tomato and clam juice. The result? A revelation. Whichever way you look at it, Beefeater Impressably does. Surprisingly diverse.





Will Jean Chrétien match Herb Gray?

BY PETER C. NEWMAN

With the Liberals under Jean Chrétien now running a solid 30 per centage points behind their level under Herb Gray—who made the 53-per-cent approval rating when he was the party's interim leader—the about-to-be elected Bessisage MP has yet to define his ideological stance within Canada's rapidly changing political spectrum.

It was all supposed to be as easy. Surely by being chosen leader of the Liberal party, Chrétien thought he was bound to become prime minister of Canada—a transformation achieved by all but one of his eight predecessors. (The only exception was Edward Blake, who led the Liberals for seven years in the 1880s, but resigned after being defeated twice by the popular Sir John A. Macdonald.)

The theory of Chrétien's seamless triumph was based on the naive notion that the only effective alternative to Brian Mulroney's Conservatives would always be the Liberals, who after the war election would surely reclaim their comfortable position as the country's "Government Party." Instead, all political bets are off. The NDP, already running Ontario, will within the year almost certainly win power in British Columbia and Saskatchewan, with its own chance of moving in on Don Getty in Alberta, while in Manitoba, Gary Filmon is holding the assembly at bay with only a three-seat margin.

At the same time, two serious regional movements, the Bloc Québécois and the Reform Party, are on the ramparts, leaving the Liberals as its natural antagonists at federal offices, but in only one of five groups leading for votes. In some ways, the Liberals are worse off than their competitors, because the party's national organization is in tatters and its treasury is either \$3.8 million or \$5 million at the red, depending on when you believe. Liberal leaders collected \$5.4 million for the general election in 1988, and nearly \$6 million more for the various leadership candidates earlier this year. As a result, the party sources have dried

In Quebec, the Liberal leader's TV embrace of Clyde Wells is still seen as the equivalent of Sir John A. Macdonald hanging Louis Riel

up. (It doesn't have enough money to retain a major pollster—Toronto's Martin Galtchuk, their costliest favorite, having blown himself out of the water by marketing David Peterson's catastrophic campaign.) Over the Liberal pocket scientist currently grounded is Senator Michael Kirby, who wanted to run Peterson for leader against Chrétien—though the former Ontario premier never seriously considered the shot. Neither is there enough money to finance what the party needs most—a policy conference that would finally provide Chrétien with something of substance to champion, instead of merely mindlessly attacking everything that Ottawa does.

Chrétien has meanwhile created major internal problems for himself by appointing Michel Rucinski as chief of staff and Eddie Goldenberg as principal secretary—then privately telling each man he was in charge. They're both capable, but their ill-defined mandates have set off internal turf wars. The party staff remains split as its pro- and anti-Mulroney camps, though the constitutional deal itself is dead issue. The anti-Mulroney, including party president Don Johnston and members of the Retroactive Backlash for Pierre Trudeau Society, want Chrétien to remain trapped in the amber of being one of the

old guys with old ideas, to paraphrase a favorite former slogan of theirs. Paul Martin Jr. and Sheila Copps have meanwhile been impatiently demanding a new approach.

As Chrétien delivers, he remains low in the opinion polls. In Quebec, the TV stage of him at the Calgary leadership convention, bagging Clyde Wells to thank the Newfoundland premier for having killed Meech Lake, is seen as the equivalent of Sir John A. Macdonald hanging Louis Riel.

With the Liberals and NDP currently splitting 40 per cent of Canada's committed voters, the fight is so far a political position slightly to the left of centre. Chrétien and his strategists are haunted by Senator Keith Dewar's biting description of the Mulroney Conservatives as "petrified Liberals," and are determined to accept the country's small-liberal/conservative. "It was the Liberal party, not liberalism, that was rejected by Canadian voters in 1884 and 1898," claims Liberal Senator Jack Austin in a privately circulated position paper. "Canada wanted a new team, but to change to the success formula which befell Canada from the Depression of the 1930s to the prosperity of the 1960s."

To play up to that mood, Jean Chrétien is quietly changing his political stance: he wants to become a "Pragmatic Liberal," hopes to move the centre population that was once the "Governing Party" endearing slogan. When he referred to himself as Pearson follower for the first time at a Vancouver party function on the 15th of November, the audience cheered. Even for Liberals who were politically active during Mike Pearson's prime ministership (1963-1968), his name conjures up gender times and the memory of a noble Canadian sponsoring such enlightened legislation as Medicare, the Canada Pension Plan, a distinct Canadian flag, and so on.

Chrétien's resurrection would require, as Pearson once described the process, becoming "a man of the centre, moving forward," which really means shifting to the left, because he gave a lot more latitude to outcasts with a social conscience, like Wilton Gordinier, than to less venturesome but socially conservative businessmen, like Mitchell Sharp. So far, Chrétien has limited his risk quotient to running for office in the safest Liberal seat in the country. But he has at least echoed the late Wilton Gordinier's sentiments by dismissing the Conservative U.S. Free Trade Agreement. Unlike John Turner, he would negotiate it instead of tearing it up, attacking the privatization of Petro-Canada, coming out against free trade with Mexico, and after half a dozen blue stars, blaming the GAT. "We Liberals believe that our society exists for the benefit of every one of its members, not just a privileged few," he has been saying at party functions across the country. "None of us can truly flourish if the weakest individuals and regions among us are left behind."

There's a respectable role of Pearson-vintage Liberalism and social justice in the mix, at least beginning to reach that sense of political direction. Someday he may even be as popular as Herb Gray.

BACARDI STANDS OUT IN THE DARK.

SAVOUR THE EXCEPTIONALLY SMOOTH TASTE OF THE CARIBBEAN. BACARDI DARK RUM.

A WRITER BEFORE HER TIME

Jean Auel, who writes fiction set in prehistoric times, says that she not only is popular with millions of casual readers, but gets "a good deal of respect from the academic community." The reason, says Auel, is that "I'm a novelist who does her homework."

Auel, who has recently published her best-selling *The Pleistocene*, the fourth novel in her sloping Earth's Children series, said, "Scientists see me as exemplifying their points of view." Added Auel, 54: "I offer an alternative to the Hollywood stereotype of the guy with the leopard skin dragging a woman by her hair."



Auel: required reading for anthropology courses



Madonna: bisexuality, group sex and sadomasochism

Justifying the fantasies

Once again, the material girl is manipulating the media: The release last week of Madonna's latest video, *Justify My Love*, unleashed a barrage of shocked reproaches—and publicity. The video features bisexuality, men dressed as women, group sex and suggestions of sadomasochism. Canada's music video network, MuchMusic, and MTV, its American counterpart, said that they would not broadcast the video. Said Madonna: "Not everyone is comfortable with this, but these fantasies exist in all human beings. I want people to deal with them."

Reign in Spain

Women around the world have simply demonstrated their love for Spanish singer Julio Iglesias. His 79 albums, in an average, have sold 200 million copies. Still, he says that he is not crowded. The reason, his English-language records have not been huge successes. But Iglesias says that all that will change now that his latest album, *Sherry Night*, is out. Added the singer, 47: "I'm working for 35 years and this is the first time they take me seriously." He added, "Before, all they did was shout in the number of girlfriends I have, or my sex life. But now people feel I sound natural in English."



Iglesias: still not crowded

An artistic fight for native rights

Montreal artist Joe David spent last summer patrolling the woods near Oka, Que., with other Mohawk Warriors who were muzzling the bulldozers against a planned golf course expansion. The Warriors surrendered to the army

on Sept. 26, but David said that he plans to continue expressing native concerns through his art. As part of a recent native arts exhibition in Umanassic, Que., 145 km northwest of Montreal, David assembled a sculpture commemorating the siege, his first work since being re-

David: wire and narrows poles



SUCCESS ABROAD

Rita MacNeil, the shy, soft-spoken singer from Cape Breton, N.S., has, until now, been largely unknown outside her native land. But last week, MacNeil returned from an Australian tour, and will soon go to Britain. While she was *Dance Under*, MacNeil's song *Working Man*, from her 1990 hit album, *Reason To Believe*, topped local music charts. Said MacNeil, 48: "It's not the kind of song you'd think would go to number 1. But it grabbed the attention of a lot of listeners." In Canada, MacNeil has just released her latest album, *Blame It On Me*, and crv plans to broadcast her Christmas special on Dec. 17. About her overseas successes, she added, "I'm still a little leary about being far from home, but wonderful people come to the shows."

leased in October from police custody. David incorporated tales from the conflict into his sculpture, including case wire and poles left behind by snipers. Said David, 33, who pleaded not guilty to weapons charges: "The courts are trying to make us feel like terrorists. This is something to make us feel better about what we did."

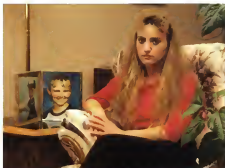


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PHILIPS



McQuaker with pictures of *Janina* two years waiting for a nightmare to end

BEHAVIOR

The mounting toll of missing children

Recent cases spotlight an alarming trend

For more than two years, Diane McQuaker has been waiting for her nightmare to end. The 28-year-old hospital cook says that it began in June, 1986, when 12-year-old son, Jason, went to watch a soccer game that was being played only a few blocks from their apartment building in Thunder Bay, Ont. McQuaker says that she has not seen her son since. When Jason did not come home after the game, McQuaker said, she thought he might be at a friend's house. Later, she called the police, who launched a full-scale search. When they did not find her son, McQuaker said, she and her husband had to live the first that he had probably been abducted. And because no one demanded a ransom, they feared that he was being exploited for sexual purposes. Said McQuaker, who still keeps her son's picture hidden away in her pillow: "I can't get it out of my head what has happened to him."

McQuaker's plight is similar to that of

hundreds of Canadians whose children have been abducted, either by strangers or by an estranged parent. According to new statistics, only four children under the age of 17 were abducted across Canada last year by strangers. At the same time, 374 children were reported to have been abducted by one of their parents. Although the four children taken away by strangers were later found, more than 200 of those who were thought to have been abducted by a parent are still listed as missing. That total rose 15 per cent higher than last year and the highest number of active cases since the last established in Missing Children's Registry in 1986.

The alarming increase in

the number of unaccounted-for abducted children was underscored by a recent rash of disappearances and attempted kidnappings in Toronto. Metropolitan Toronto Police officials said last week that they were investigating at least eight incidents since early October, including the sexual assault of a two-year-old boy and the attempted murder of 10-year-old Andrea Arkinson, whose body was found on Oct. 22 in a Toronto apartment building following a two-day search. By Mr. Arkinson's wife, Mrs. Arkinson, said last week that the cause of the child's death, and there has been no arrest at the case.

In another Toronto incident, Queen's Park discovered that last three-year-old daughter, Anne, had vanished from her side while they were shopping at a crowded Toronto discount department store. Police officers later found the child unharmed in a locked church basement a few blocks away. "Parents are scared," and Staff Sgt. John Howlett of the Toronto police. "When a child goes missing, some worry that their son or daughter is hurt."

For many parents in other parts of Canada, that worry has already become a reality. Barbara Babin says that her three-year-old daughter, Casey, vanished from their Delta, B.C., home during the night of Aug. 6, 1986. "We thought it was a kidnapping, we thought there was a trap," said Babin. The following day, someone took a month-old baby from a locked car near a shopping mall in another Vancouver suburb. Meanwhile, Brian Angerman of Montreal says that he believes that his five-year-old son, Anthony, is with his father, but she says that she does not know where they are. She said that her son-in-law used the child three years ago during Thanksgiving weekend, said Angerman. "He knew that it was the ultimate thing in Canadian law."

The mounting toll of missing children has prompted some parents and child-care workers to take protective measures. "When these things surface in one place, they cause fear everywhere," said Gail Kenneth Galt of the Hudson's Bay. Social service agencies in some cities report an increased number of inquiries from concerned parents who want to know how they can prevent their children from being snatched, while some street owners say that the incidents are causing closing of so-called corner lobbies and other street businesses.

Still, officials say that the vast majority of missing chil-

dren are those who run away from home. According to the above, a total of 57,399 children under 17 were reported missing last year. But more than half of those children were found within 24 hours, and 89 per cent were located within two months. Fifty-three per cent of the missing children were listed as runaways. Reports say that the tragedy for many of the runaways, who often die as the result of physical or emotional abuse, is the situation they left at home. Said Jean Fisher, a research officer with the senior province office in Ottawa who wrote a 1986 report on missing children, "These kids are victims of a social problem as opposed to a criminal one."

At the same time, an increasing number of children are being abducted, not often by one of their own parents. One (though reported on several parents who believe their children were taken up to 10 years in prison under a 1983 amendment to the Criminal Code, some experts say that parental abduction is still not treated as a serious crime in Canada. For one thing, analysts claim, the police are somewhat reluctant to press charges because, in many cases, custody rights have not been clearly established. "Everyone keeps saying that at least I know who he's with, as if that makes it less serious," said Gail Galt of Galt, Galt, & Associates, a law firm in Toronto. She says with her father, her ex-boyfriend, last October. "My little boy thought that he was leaving me for a few hours, but now he's caught over our case back."

Officials who work in the field say that many estranged parents who abduct their children try to take the child as far away as possible. According to Canadian statistics, Canadian citizens officers last year caught 34 people trying to smuggle a abducted child out of the country. As well, experts say that children abducted by their own parents often suffer various kinds of abuse. Said Eric Sommerfrid, Alberta co-ordinator of the Calgary-based national organization Child Find Canada Inc., which helps parents and police who are looking for missing children. "It's a bad look for the other parent. A behavior officer takes it out on him. There is always emotional, often physical and sometimes sexual abuse."

For most parents, though, the incident who is not related to the child, and whose danger to the child are often small, seems the most serious threat. Some experts say that, in the majority of cases of sexual molestation, the child has previously known the assailant. Despite that fact, police officials contend that the only effective way to prevent assaults and kidnappings by predators is for children to be taught to trust only their parents, or people with well-established roles in their lives. After police found Andrea Arkinson's body in Toronto, her mother told reporters that the girl must have known her kidnapper, and she was "intuitive, and would never talk to strangers." In the end, constant vigilance and care on the part of parents may be the only way of safeguarding children in an increasingly dangerous society.

DIANE BRADBURY with correspondents' reports

CRIME

Cold war secrets

An uncovered group embarrasses NATO

These were echoes of weapons hidden across Western Europe, and identity groups of commandos who were trained to act as assassins that are now exposed. The group, which was active during the early 1950s, when Cold War tensions were running high, the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) trained groups of commandos in at least half a dozen Western Euro-

pean countries for a series of night-time terrorist bombings and murders that raged Italy between 1958 and 1964. As well, the governments of France, Germany, Austria, Greece, Belgium and the Netherlands have all admitted their direct participation in the state-backed program—said that, in some cases, the units were still active, although largely inactive.

The most detailed profile of the operation has emerged in Italy, where Prime Minister Giulio Andreotti and military intelligence chief Fulvio Martini reached before the parliamentary inquiry on May 15 and 16. Those evidence revealed that the Gladio network, established in Italy during the late 1950s, initially consisted of 622 men who were based on the island of Sicily by British and U.S. intelligence officers. There were total of 40 Gladio cells, in total, responsible for most underground activities in communications, espionage and sabotage. Weapons and ammunition were hidden in 126 vaults throughout northern Italy, near the most likely routes of a Soviet invasion. As well, Italian President Francesco Cossiga has admitted that he was in charge of Gladio's activities when he was a member of the country's defense ministry during the mid-1960s.



Cossiga: admitting he helped organize units

in order to prevent Italian Communist groups from prevailing in the 1950s. A former high-ranking CIA officer, Raymond Claus, and that the state-backed program was originally set up in late 1950. Claus, who was stationed in Rome with the CIA during the mid-1960s, said that he recommended the program that the government be disbanded. Added Claus: "What I discovered was no organization, but a lot of men for nothing." His advice was ignored, and so the Gladio units have risen from obscurity to confront the present-day leadership of Western Europe.

But the program's revelation led to an Italian parliamentary inquiry, which began in mid-November, and they have caused a political upheaval. In Italy, socialist and Communist politicians have charged that Gladio guerrillas were

responsible for a series of night-time terrorist bombings and murders that raged Italy between 1958 and 1964. As well, the governments of France, Germany, Austria, Greece, Belgium and the Netherlands have all admitted their direct participation in the state-backed program—said that, in some cases, the units were still active, although largely inactive.

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Up in arms

Proposed gun laws face massive opposition

Twelve months have passed since 25-year-old Marc Lépine walked into Montreal's École polytechnique and, in a 20-minute orgy of violence, shot a dozen 14-year-old girls and a teacher. Then, Lépine used the rifle to kill himself. It was the worst single-day massacre in Canadian history, and it sparked enormous demands for tougher gun legislation. But as Polytechnique staff and students marked the anniversary of the killings this week, federal Justice Minister Ron Campbell's proposed gun-control bill, which was introduced in the House of Commons in June, faced massive opposition from pro-gun lobbyists. Many of them say that Bill C-68 will penalize gun collectors, hunters and recreational shooters while leaving gunners the hands of criminals. Declared Richard Cormier, a director of Toronto-based WeKnap, a national lobbying group that opposes stricter gun control: "It's a mistake to differentiate be-

tween good guns and bad guns. Any gun is lethal in the wrong hands."

Originally intended as an update of existing gun regulations, which had not been amended since 1978, Bill C-68 took on new urgency following the Montreal massacre. When it was introduced in Parliament, the bill, which would make it harder for gun enthusiasts to acquire any type of firearm, drew a storm of criticism from pro-gun groups. At the same time, kids who represent rural and native districts expressed concern that the regulations would limit gun ownership in areas where hunting and target shooting are a way of life.

Following intense lobbying by groups opposed to the legislation, Campbell late last month referred the bill to a special all-party committee for preliminary study. That action was bitterly opposed by many of those who favor the proposed new gun-control legislation. They said that by delaying the bill's progress through Parliament, Campbell's decision would

almost certainly result in the bill dying when the current Parliament ends sometime in February. "The bill is going to die," said Liberal justice critic Russell MacLellan, a member of the special committee. "The government is killing it."

Campbell insisted that Bill C-68 was not being shelved. But opposition critics say that there will not be enough time left during the current Parliament to pass the legislation through both houses. That means that Campbell will probably have to reintroduce a gun-control bill during the next session, likely in the spring. Said Mr. Mary Clancy, the Liberal's status-of-women critic: "It's a very scary situation. We need that legislation now—not six months from now."

If the bill becomes law, it would impose tough new restrictions on gun ownership. Under the terms of the bill, anyone found guilty of converting a semi-automatic firearm, which fires a single shot with each pull of the trigger, to fully-automatic could face five years in prison. Bill C-68 would also limit the use of the automatic magazine in a semi-automatic rifle to five bullets (Lépine's rifle had a 30-shot clip).

The bill would also tighten registration requirements. Under existing law, anyone wishing to buy a firearm must first obtain a firearms acquisition certificate from police. For people without criminal records, they are relatively easy to get. But under the proposed law, all applicants would have to provide the police with photo identification, and their applications



Firing an M-16 at a target range: a proposed wait to discourage impulse-buying

would require two gun-store signatures from professionals, including doctors or ministers. As well, to discourage impulse buying of guns, Bill C-68 would require a 28-day waiting period between application for gun ownership and the date of taking ownership of a gun. "There are shortcomings," said criminologist Darryl Davies, a consultant to the Ottawa-based Canadian Justice Association's gun-control group. But, he added, "it's a good first step."

Like other supporters of the bill, Davies expressed concern over the growing use of

firearms for criminal purposes in Canada. He said that shooting is the most commonly used method of committing murder in Canada, accounting for 33 per cent of the 657 murders reported in 1989. According to Staff Sgt. Robert Crompton, a firearms expert with the Metropolitan Toronto Police, there has been a significant increase in the number of restricted weapons, such as handguns, and some kinds of semi-automatic rifles, in recent years. He said that, as of Dec. 31, 1989, 947,072 restricted weapons were registered in Canada, up from

893,585 two years earlier. Said Crompton: "The question is, why are people among themselves?"

But gun lobbyists maintain that legislation like Bill C-68 will not stop criminals. Said Selwyn's Cormier: "You're going to go to the United States and walk into a gun store, buy what you want, drop it in your pocket and drive across the border." Instead of restrictive laws, advocates for most pro-gun groups advocate increased education and training in gun use, as well as tough, compulsory licensing for criminals who use firearms.

Some gun-control advocates, including Crompton, contend that if Bill C-68 had been in force a year ago, it would not have prevented Marc Lépine from going to his killing spree. Crompton said that in 1989, he suggested in a report to his Justice Minister Bussan Hurley that any application for a firearms acquisition certificate, which is valid for five years, be accompanied by a waiver allowing police to look into the psychological backgrounds of the applicants. But Crompton said that Hurley did not even respond to his advice. While there is no likelihood of any stronger measures like Lépine, said Crompton, "had those things been in place, I think that whole incident might have been preventable." Meanwhile, as silent nights marked the first anniversary of the Montreal massacre, the prospects of more effective gun control seemed uncertain.

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LINDROS spells sensational

BY TRENT FRAYNE

Every 25 years, apparently, it becomes necessary to burn the family idol in the direction of Ottawa, Ont., there to maintain the newest, greatest hockey project since even before the invention of Don Cherry.

In the early spring of 1985, there was a shy, somewhat crew-cut prodigy named Bobby Orr playing defense in a revolutionary way for the Ottawa Generals juniors. That fellow bore a croch-nose tag and was being heralded as the savior of the pitifully weak Boston Bruins, though he was still a willowy youth of 5-foot-9 and 165 lb. and not yet 17.

Now, a quarter of a century later, Ottawa is the natural home of a massive new 17-year-old, Eric Lindros, who when he enters a room shrinks it, for he is just a shade under 6-foot 5 weighs 230 lb. without a visible grain of excess fat, and who has forearms on him like Popeye's.

At a particular moment last week, the room Eric Lindros was dominating was the kitchen of his agent, a trim, pleasant man named Rick Curran, who had been brewing coffee while explaining that in all probability he would be signing his client to a very lucrative three- or four-year contract.

"It's too soon to call on exact figures," Curran admitted. "It will depend upon the going rate for franchise players. By franchise player, I mean someone who can fill otherwise empty seats and can help a team advance to a playoff position. Eric will do that for whatever skill level drafts him next June."

No one seems to doubt this. Partly because of his size, but mostly because of his highly productive style, Eric is usually compared by experts to Mario Lemieux, the Pittsburgh Penguins' dominant, inimitable, and undisciplined young agent, reputed to be as widely accepted as Lemieux at a simple supper in their hockey town. Lemieux is a junior with the Lowell Devils who has just posted the 100th and a record in his own and all of the time.

Eric, a center, is another. His playing style is far more robust and battering than Lemieux's,

Partly because of his size, but mostly because of his highly productive style, Eric Lindros is usually compared to Mario Lemieux

and Lindros has a high penalty total to go with his scoring statistics. He is currently leading the Ottawa Hockey League in scoring, and is the obvious leader of a team that won the Memorial Cup in Canada's junior championship last spring and that currently is on top in the 14-team league.

Bobby Orr meant as much to the Generals 35 years ago, though that past about ends their similarity. In contrast to the leading Lindros, Orr was a defenceman of almost fragile dimensions. By the time he settled into the Blues, he had stretched to 5-foot-11 and cranked-up to 135 lb. Indeed, the two of them fairly illustrate the differences in the nature of hockey then and now.

For instance, Orr did not have an agent—in his case, he was almost unheard of in the mid-1960s—until his father, Doug Orr, sought out a Toronto lawyer of his acquaintance, a business player who had just hung out his shingle, one Robert Allen Engleman. Doug Orr did this because the Boston team had offered his son a \$3,800 bonus to sign a two-year contract at \$7,500 for the first season and \$8,000 for the second. Engleman immediately recognized that the next Bruins were in no position to haggle over the Ottawa Generals' sensational young-

ster and negotiated an \$85,000 two-year deal for Bobby—more than four times the original Boston offer.

Bobby was a lad of 14 when his parents allowed him to travel from the family's Perry Sound, Ont., home to play for the Generals, and at 15 he moved in with an Ottawa family. When Orr was 16, Maclean's asked me to write a piece about him, and one evening after a practice he and I went to a jewelry store on Ottawa's main street where we sat in a booth and I had a cup of coffee and he had a glass of milk. He was shy and watchful and careful of his answers and after 30 minutes or so I couldn't think of a single further question to ask him. We had exhausted all aspects of his ambitions in hockey and his schoolwork and his family and what he did in the summer and his upbringing. One of his main concerns was that people might think he was getting a swollen head.

"I don't look at any of the write-ups," he told me, staring at his hands. "I used to read them, but I'm afraid I might believe the things they write. I don't want that to happen. I've got an awful lot to learn, you know."

And now, a quarter of a century later, here is Eric Lindros, strutting this bright, pleasant kitchen, just arrived from a practice in his pretty Lavallo, Que., gown as his coach-leader, sipping to the waitress for a large plastic bottle of Coca-Cola and pouring himself a cold, tall glass of it.

"I'm sorry I'm late," he said, shaking his head. "I was wedged against the pay machine for autographs for an hour and a half. I had 'em put to settle down, everybody's gonna get one. I made sure I got 'em all. I always do, anybody who wants it."

At this stage, Eric is more sophisticated than the young Bobby was. Eric's father, Carl Lindros, a chartered accountant, is a partner in a Toronto firm, and Eric and a younger brother and sister have been raised in an upper-middle-class neighborhood. Eric says his maternal grandparents, Jean and Blake Baillie of Chatham, Ont., have helped him keep a level perspective.

"My grandfather says put your money in the bank and my grandmother says have fun," Eric said. "I have great fun on the ice and in the dressing room, we have a neat bunch of guys. The money, I leave that to Rick. I just sit and pay attention and try to look bright."

Eric's destiny as a pro will not be known until next June's draft of young players by the teams. The way the draft works, the team with the worst record in a certain first choice, the second-worst team the second choice, and so on until all the players the 21 teams wish to claim have been secured. Nobody doubts that this season's draft will pick Eric first.

The prospect doesn't bother him, he said. "Evening the worst team there are bound to be some good players," he added with conviction. "Anyway, attitude is the problem on last-place teams. An attitude change can put you in the playoffs."

Bobby Orr expected to seek both insurance back in 1965. Meanwhile, who can guess what 2015 will present as Ottawa's next season's greatest prospect? The family idol waits.



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Fables and foibles

Cher indulges her flamboyance in Mermaids

Cher was holding court in a Manhattan hotel suite. She lay stretched on a sofa like Cleopatra on her barge, gaudy sequined boots propped on the coffee table. Her jeans, striped spaghetti around a fabulous Agnès B. Even casually dressed, she has a regal presence. She wore a simple black top—cut low, but not too low—with an understated black lacework covering her shoulders and her new tattoo. Cher was at the end of a long day of interviews to promote her new movie, *Mermaids*, which opens on Dec. 24. She had a heavy cold. She was tired. And she had heard too many questions about her six tattoos, her clothes—her cage. “I’m very serious about my work,” she told *Max*’s, “but I’m not serious about myself. I keep trying to destroy the idea that you get an image and stay with it.”

A celebrity from the age of 18, Cher, now 44, keeps finding new ways to stay famous. She is the operator in the see-through gown who routinely steals the show at the Academy Awards, the garnish rock ‘n’ roll diva who commands \$400,000 a night in Las Vegas and the serious actress who demands \$4-6 million each time she plays the screen’s sexiest temptress. A hitmaker mother-daughter comedy, *Mermaids* is Cher’s first movie since she won the Best Actress Oscar for 1983’s *Mask*. Although it is not her best work, she seems more a character than ever before—and finally gets to outlive her flamboyance on screen.

Controversial but witty, *Mermaids* is a fable about loss of innocence. It is consciously set in 1963, the year of John F. Kennedy’s assassination. Cher portrays a free-spirited single mother known simply as Mrs. Flax—once la her older daughter, Charlotte, a humorously troubled teenager played by Winona Ryder. Mrs. Flax has some shortcomings as a mother: Her idea of dinner is a roadside salad tossed up of cheerballs and miniature waffles. And in her relationship with a local shoe merchant, Lou (Bob Odenkirk), she seems more interested in sex than commitment. Charlotte, meanwhile, a teen bewitched by a man (although she is Jewish) and, at the age of 15,

surrendering her virginity to the boy next door in Manhattan, with Ryder—dressed in black and looking serene on her 16th birthday—beside her on the couch. Cher talked about how she lost her own virginity at age 15 to the boy next door. “I really liked him and I wanted to be

said, “All I could think of is, up in the morning at 5 o’clock and going to some hotel room by yourself and just praying that you have enough energy to take off your makeup and leave your hair before you pass out.”

The actress expressed impatience with the media’s constant attempts to interpret and exploit her glamour. First, there was her peroxide on the cover of November’s *Playboy*, displaying a fresh series of a necklace to her arm—all though she says the photographer had promised that the photograph would show only her face. Then, there were nagging rumors that her body was a rip-and-tear road map of cosmetic surgery, granting a stem-cell and warning from her lawyers. Finally a story in the *National Enquirer* quoted Bono saying that Cher was so drunk one time she thought Rushmore was a natural phenomenon.



Cherina Ricci, Cher, Haskins, Ryder: a courtship but sweet tale about loss of innocence

his girlfriend,” she said. “But he was a senior and was about like me in front of his friends.” After day made love, she recalled. “I asked him, ‘Is this it?’ I said, ‘Well, you get up and go home and never come back here again.’”

In fact, *Mermaids* contains more than conventional echoes of Cher’s past. The actress says that she partly modeled her character as her own mother, Georgia Holt, who is now 63 and has watched her way through six husbands. But she also seems to be playing herself. Cher, who is 40, has two children of her own: Chastity, 21, and Elijah Blue, 14—one from each of her two past marriages, the first to singer-turned-mayor Sonny Bono and the second to rock guitarist Gregg Allman.

Cher took a proprietary interest in *Mermaids*. Midway through the shoot, she forced the resignation of the director, Frank Oz, who was replaced by former actor Richard Benjamin. The shoot itself, she recalled, was as arduous. At the time, she was writing from the full impact of Epstein-Barr virus, which she contracted in 1993. “Someone asked me one day, ‘How does it feel to be glamorous?’” she

A phenomenon in her own right, Cher has become a favorite target for the media. “If you’re flamboyant,” she said, “it makes people believe that you’re self-indulgent or don’t have a conscience. That’s the trade-off—I have to give up a lot of my independence. I just never found the necessity to stop experimenting. You know, like, ‘Oooh, dare I wear this or dare I try that?’” Added Cher: “I mean, I’m not dealing in a cure for cancer here—or anything that’s really going to mean much to anybody else.”

As for the tattoos, she says that they are her business. Highlighting the tattoo on *Playboy* “was an honor,” Cher complained. “Not that I’m not so brave. It’s just that if wasn’t my choice, because my shock value isn’t exactly like that.” Cher expresses herself with workshop-class candor while dressing herself in Hollywood glitter. What she means by it all is never less clear—other than Cher for Cher’s sake. But as her shock value continues to pay high dividends, she has no need to explain.

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BOOKS

Clash of the titans

*The Kennedy-Diefenbaker
battle still reverberates*

KENNEDY & DIEFENBAKER

By Kenneth Nash
(McClelland & Stenset 320 pages, \$28.95)

On the day in August that Prime Minister Brian Mulroney returned home from discussions in Person Gulf policy with President George Bush, an odd and curious *The Globe and Mail* portrayed their relationship in devious terms. It showed the united Bush using a resource-control device to manipulate a top-rated Mulroney—wearing whistles, an aerial and a willing smile—at the U.S. President's feet. That graphic caricature reflected one historically strong and abiding concern among many Canadians over Canada-U.S. relations. It is a concern that their leaders—and Canada—may enforce indignation, or even appear to be subservient, as dealing with U.S. counterparts. As Kenneth Nash observes in *Kennedy & Diefenbaker*: "Coping with a hailing neighbor 30 times our size who is eating away at Canadian sovereignty is the age-old challenge for Canadian prime ministers." In his compelling account of a classic failure to cope successfully with this challenge, Nash examines an seldom-remembered circumstance to have his way and a pivotal prime minister's refusal to submit—at a heavy political price.

Nash's subtitle—*Four and Counting Across the Continental Border*—summarizes his view on why the youthful President John Kennedy and Prime Minister John Diefenbaker, 33 years his senior, did not get along. Diefenbaker, Nash writes, "loosely termed Kennedy, as Kennedy loathed him." Their feuding was spurred by mutual hatred, Nash says, their private comments on each other marked by pettiness but their words under shades of public imperiousness that divided the Canadian Prime and popular and the charismatic New England Democrat. Those issues centered on Diefenbaker's brooding assertion of Canadian autonomy in the face of Kennedy's often insensitive treatment of Canada as an adjunct of U.S. policy. "Their differences were irreconcilable," Nash writes, "their clash inevitable."

Nash, now CBC-TV's senior correspondent and author of *Saturday Report*, reconstructs that rule and counsel period in Canada-U.S. relations by retracing the days in the early 1960s when he covered the story live in the network's Washington correspondent. He reminds that Canadians with documents since made public and from

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BOOKS

intertwined with surviving aesthetics of the two main adversaries. His lively account and cogent analysis distillate both the petty personal slights and the grand events that will cement influence in Canadian politics and stratification more than a quarter of a century later.

Diefenbaker, whose Conservatives gained power in 1957 as a Canada-first platform—and quickly consolidated the previously scattered political advance group—now became entangled in military issues that were to become the focus of his dispute with Kennedy. The major showdown centred on Diefenbaker's second thoughts over a plan to host U.S. nuclear missiles in Canada. His hesitations finally provided a substantial issue to use the state department, denouncing Diefenbaker's inoperative and emptily promising bars of loyalty Canada, shattered Diefenbaker in response, "will not be pushed around or accept external domination or interference in making its decisions." Kennedy, Nash relates, had been unsure of the arms release and chewed out his aides—mainly because a world atmosphere Diefenbaker's political hand at home. In fact, Diefenbaker suffered electoral defeat less than 10 weeks later, a victim of what Nash describes as a last-minute but effective American effort to assist him. The Liberal successor, Lester Pearson, who had earlier shifted his position on the issue, had the veto vetoed.

For the damage that Kennedy and Diefenbaker inflicted on transatlantic relations, Nash faults both men. "Who was to blame? Certainly Diefenbaker was, with his visceral, ancient fears of the grasping Americans and his obsessive determination of the Kennedy style," Nash writes. "And certainly Kennedy was, with his arrogance and contempt at what he considered Diefenbaker's ill-fated bungling, and his failure of patience in dealing with the persistent demands and domestic political forces driving the Canadian prime minister."

These coincident times in office spanned only 27 months, from Kennedy's inauguration on Jan. 20, 1961, and Diefenbaker's departure on April 22, 1963. But they presided over a period when a central question was how firmly Canada would become an active ally of U.S. foreign and military policy. Ironically, it was Diefenbaker's very resistance to Kennedy's pressure that, by contributing to his defeat, brought about Canada's deeper commitment to that alliance role. Nash concludes his story with chapters that provide the history that shaped the Kennedy-Diefenbaker period and outline as comparatively casual aftermath.

He draws no explicit line to the present state of U.S.-Canada relations. But the events and issues that his book details make it easy to link Pearson's acceptance of American nuclear warheads and Mulroney's ready commitment of Canadian forces to the U.S.-led Persian Gulf expedition 36 years later. And there is clearly a current echo of Diefenbaker's obstinate nationalism in such circumstances as the cartoon that derides the present relationship between the President and the Prime Minister.

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BOOKS

Out in the cold

An author says Canada's spy agency is a bungler



OFFICIAL SECRETS: THE STORY BEHIND THE CANADIAN SECURITY INTELLIGENCE SERVICE
By Richard Clement
(McGraw-Hill Ryerson: 201 pages, \$25.95)

It seems only natural that the end of the Cold War should have a dramatic impact on the world's spy agencies. But in the end, writes Richard Clement's new book, *Official Secrets: The Story Behind the Canadian Security Intelligence Service*, Canada's spies probably have not yet heard about communism's sea change. Clement paints a devastating picture of CISC agents who are too busy reading juvenile books with the jacket or fighting among themselves to adapt to international change. The author, a former political reporter for *The Globe and Mail*, portrays CISC as embarrassing, inept, ill-managed and grossly—as agency is more capable of safeguarding Canada's security than the Keystone Kops.

Clement's witty, anecdotal account traces many of the service's problems to its roots in the RCMP. After revelations in the late 1970s that the controversial *Moulinet* had committed many questionable even illegal, acts—including the notorious burning of a barn southeast of Montreal where members of the P.Q. were thought to meet—Ottawa decided that the business of spying and national security should be placed in civilian hands. As a result, it created CISC on July 30, 1984. But many secrets to the new agency were foreign. *Moulinet* versus *Clement*. "What the *Moulinet* had been doing illegally the new domestic spy agency would be able to do legally, provided it had the approval of a Federal Court judge."

Still, incompetence and rivalry with the RCMP have been even more debilitating for CISC. Clement details how, in 1988, CISC agents tapped a telephone conversation asking that which terrorists were planning to attack a Pan-Am cabinet minister who would be visiting Vancouver Island eight days later. But the agents ignored the information rather than passing it on to the *Moulinets*, and passed that to the minister, who survived the attack, on a diverted flying route. The *Moulinets* travelled by that and other terrorist incidents, including the 1985 bombing of Air India Flight 182 and the siege that same year on the Turkish Embassy in Ottawa. Clement's convincing portrait offers no comfort at all.

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BOOKS

Words on ice

Hockey books are in a league of their own

It is an increasingly divided country, it is easy to forget that less than 25 years ago, Canadians were united from coast to coast by their passion for—or sometimes against—two hockey teams from Central Canada. Strange as it now seems, many western Canadians spent most of a century enthralled by the exploits of the Toronto Maple Leafs and the Montreal Canadiens, whose long-reigning ownership (by the Molson Co. Ltd.) often makes them a target of suspicion in Quebec where once a powerful symbol of French-Canadian nationalism. Since 1967, when the National Hockey League began adding new teams, such unguaranteed loyalties have been dulled. But one, six new books about hockey—including three concerning the Soviet Union's effect on the sport—offer reminders of the powerful pull that hockey still exerts on Canadians' collective psyche. Three of those books compete with each other as bestsellers, while the others bring up the rear with varying success.

Except for the fact that they share a preoccupation with hockey, the best-seller books have little in common. The most remarkable, *Overtime: The Legend of Guy Lafleur* (Penguin, \$26.95) is a revealing biography by Montreal writer Georgina Harey Geminio—wife of Lafleur's co-ownership—and the only member of the Hockey Hall of Fame to still play professionally. The second-winner, *The Boys of Sault*

Night (Macmillan, \$24.95), is by Toronto writer Scott Young, an honorary member of the Hall of Fame. Young's book is a fluid and well-reported history of the people behind the television broadcasts of *Hockey Night in Canada*. The third of the top trio is *The Red Machine* (Doubleday, \$26.95), a comprehensive look at the Soviet Union's hockey program by Lawrence Martin, a former Moscow correspondent for *The Globe and Mail*.

In the second line of new releases, the sport

Quarter began with a dedication to Guy Lafleur's wife, Lise, "who believes that what is true should be said." That is more than just a trite admission, because Lafleur bears his life and career tributes to Geminio with extraordinary candor. The book, directly a French-language best-seller in Quebec, appears likely to repeat that success in the rest of the country. A key reason is Lafleur's willingness to discuss such sensitive matters as his career transplant, as often with an unimpaired candor (he has been widely speculated upon in Quebec), and the fact that he had been looking heavily when involved in a near-fatal automobile accident in 1982. He also contrasts—and emphatically denies—unimpaired rumors in Montreal during the 1970s and early 1980s that he used cocaine.

But *Overtime*, like a strong hockey team, complex. It begins with goals and failures. Geminio reads the gas-what hero-worshipping that turns so many sports biographies into bad, unexciting ruminations of athletic exploits. Instead, Geminio, a shrewd social observer, shows how Lafleur struggled under the constraints of being a French-speaking Quebecer excelling in a sport that is widely popular in a province increasingly consumed by nationalism. As a 29-year-old, Geminio writes, Lafleur was already presented as "the guardian of the glory and soul of the Montreal Canadiens, the one who alone could assure the continuity, perpetuate the tradition, lead the club out of the darkness into which would sink without truly great stars." The fact that Lafleur succeeded in hitting those seemingly impossible goals is a result, in large part, of his implicit sense of history and—despite his occasional admissions—discreet, both



Photo by [unreadable]



BOOKS

of which shone brightly throughout the book. *Youngs: The Boys of Saturday Night* is an engaging entry, a book written by a versatile and unapologetic Canadian author, neither reverent, nor cynically Canadian, nostalgic. Young has been writing about hockey far more than three decades but, in his history of television coverage of the NHL, he couples a veteran's expertise with a reader's enthusiasm for his topic. Young recalls how Ross Barnett, the original radio announcer for the Maple Leafs, had an exceedingly high profile. When Chicago Blackhawks great Bobby Hull first met Barnett—who died in 1986—he said, "It was like meeting God." Young also tells anecdotes about longtime Canadian announcer Buck Levins and the coach Don Cherry, whose less-than-perfect grammar, as Young recounts, the network has occasionally and unacceptably tried to correct.

But Young also ventures into the recent underbelly of the sports broadcasting business, including the interference by some team owners that play-by-play announcers could not be too critical or biased because of their status as their team's broadcasters. Some networks have allowed themselves to be co-opted by owners. As Young writes, one casualty of network takeover is the immensely talented Dave Hodges, who was virtually blackballed from Maple Leafs broadcasts in recent years because of his refusal to be bullied. That description can also be respectfully applied to Young himself.

Larson's *Martin*, meanwhile, was uniquely qualified to write *The Red Machine*. A longtime sportswriter, based in Russia he was the only Western correspondent permitted access to the inner locker in Moscow during his posting there in the mid-1980s. This combina-

tion, coupled with the Soviets' new openness, gave him an opportunity that he has exploited to the fullest.

The Red Machine provides a well-researched exploration of how the Soviets were able to challenge Canada's primacy in international hockey, and gives engaging descriptions of the previously famous stars of the Soviet national teams. He quotes the brilliant half-Spanish player Valeri Kharlamov, who explains his love for the game by saying "Hockey is not the ball—but the two have much in common." And he describes how the father of the Soviet dynasty Kharlamov—who died in a car accident in 1981—commemorated his son's death each year with a toast of vodka to his grave.

The only real flaw in Martin's book is the telling opinions that he devotes towards the Soviets. With a crumbling economy, many Soviets say that virtually every facet of their lives, including hockey, are declining. One unfortunate byproduct of President Mikhail Gorbachev's reforms has been an overall breakdown in discipline—a key reason for the Soviets' previous success stories. Yet Martin's often-biased enthusiasm for records the Soviets set, hopes for the future, he said, that, eventually, "the Red Machine would be as good as the world might have to start calling hockey the 'Russian game.'" Despite that obvious over-enthusiasm, *The Red Machine* is the work of an author thoroughly on top of his own game.

Larson's about 100 of the Soviets' top players, has some merit but only limited appeal. The rhythm of the writing, while suited to Russian literary and speech patterns, seems stilted and awkward. And Larsson, who now plays for the Vancouver Canucks, has been and is a modest success in the NHL. Larsson is gloomy about the future. He says that Soviet

Larsson as a Quebec Nordiques during his life with extraordinary candor

hockey "remains as a deep sleep [and] I cannot see any principle changes coming." But his interviews towards the Soviet system, while understandable, contain less acceptable of important observation.

Both Martin's and Larsson's books are several leagues above the *Flackler's* rapid and fast. Although its dust jacket claims that the book is about "the Soviet invasion of the NHL," it appears to be little more than a gross-upgrade in coverage of the 1989-1990 schedule of the New Jersey Devils, who had two Soviets in their lineup. *Jeuneville* and *Jeuneville* with quotations from such questionable Soviet hockey authorities in the sports columns of New Jersey's *Asbury Park Press* and *New Leader*, *Red Line* is little more than a child's hockey scrapbook—with a \$14.95 price tag.

Finally, *Don't Smoke! Greatest Hockey Stories* deserves special mention as a book that will be a guilty-pleasure read and never more than a book. The book's cover features its notable-looking author sitting in a dressing room in a manner that suggests he is a lonely soldier of the ice, a lonely soldier of the ice. The book itself, however, is filled with anecdotal humor and elegant references along the lines of "The cause and the cause" (Quaker and women) *Remember and remember* in time, it is a book that parents will likely wish to keep away from their children—and for that matter, themselves.

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Compiled by David Williams



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Mating rituals of the X-ray crowd

BY ALLAN FOTHERINGHAM

The economy in New York City is so bad, goes the line, that the Mafia has had to lay off five judges. We are in Manhattan—the Bronx and Staten Island too—and such jokes are endemic. However, it is 66° in November and the tourists on Fifth Avenue are stepping on one another at the post-Thanksgiving Day sales. It is a noisy scene, worse than Beirut.

New York in the fall, before the winter blizzards sweep between the towers, is a wonderful place. The leaves are still out in Central Park, as colorful as the plastic that runs down on Biscayneville's curbside. The town is divided over a bitter strike at the *Daily News* web management, still getting the paper out each day but with new readers afraid to sit it for fear of losing their interwebs. A paper that sold 1.1 million copies a day is now bleeding to death at maybe 350,000. They play football in New York.

John P. Kennedy Jr.—known locally as Superhawk—at long last argues his first case in court as a member of the New York bar, after losing the bar exam on his first two tries (all-Montrealism: HUSKIE FLUNKS). Sir Legal Aid cheer! A case that who is appealing after being found guilty of grabbing a woman's purse at Broadway and 116th and then throwing his victim onto the subway tracks. An ordinary New York crime.

I bet my friend two books that, in a city of nine million souls, someone familiar will be banged into before the weekend is over: At David Merrick's revival of *OMG! OMG!*, a 1930 Gertrude musical with an all-black cast, a chap slips into a seat ahead of us just as the curtain goes up. It is Robin MacLeod of the *MacLeod/Labovitch*, a good pun.

It is discovered that the Mafia, changing with the times, is now into the environment. This is a step up from garbage. One of the partners behind the notorious New York garbage barge, the floating orphan that went on a cruise voyage in 1987, has been named in a criminal case of the city's notorious organized-crime family that runs a garbage cartel on Long Island. Now, say police, the boys



have moved into recycling, because that's where the money is—with illegal dumps. The greening of the mob.

The wonder of Broadway, absolutely the best thing on it, is the marvelous *Magpie South* as a dirty tour guide in Peter Shaffer's *Leslie & Louisa*. At intermission, a face I had not seen since college 114 years ago comes over and introduces his daughter. In a sudden, mid-night downpour outside a restaurant, looking in vain for a taxi—“the chap in front with an antelope turns around. He's home. Otyrie. Ben back. I'ven't Trumpy closed a court since leaving her husband from selling or borrowing against any of their three poor homes to ease his growing financial woes.

The equivalent of heaven, on a Sunday afternoon, is to order the red soup—really the soup of a large dog—at Berdo's, a new place in SoHo, the former warehouse district that has replaced Greenwich Village as the place to be

on Sunday afternoon. Four hundred copies of Donald Trump's book, *Trump: Surviving at the Top*, once sold for \$36, go on sale for 30 cents.

On the Upper East Side, in Jackson-Ham, the towers with dormers framed like admiral's stretch high above Central Park. It is sidewalk-to-sidewalk inno-ville, with fire exits that brush the pavement. At dusk, a few feet away, the homeless claim their tents and plastic shields and oil newspapers for the benefit that see their sleeping areas on the benches that look up at the towers that look down upon them. Michael Milken, the junk-bonding who personally made \$500 million in one year and is headed to jail for 10 years, has been told that when he goes in he cannot wear his hairpiece, which a friend once described as resembling “a small dead animal.”

Loana (“only the little people pay taxes”) Hernandez, one of only fourly surprised to discover, has plenty of material in the rooms of her hotel bearing how the convicted tax evader has written a cheque for \$42 million to the Internal Revenue Service. In the bar at the Plaza, a reporter who used to sit outside my office appears out of the crowd and demands a beer.

The New York City health department smokes some 700,000 condoms, using distributed free to community groups, because they may be defective. Somehow, this doesn't seem quite the same as General Motors. When you hit a culchire for a foot through Central Park, the horses now wear a sort of loose diaper and the driver takes along a bulge in an overcoat—maggers, you know.

On upper Lexington Avenue in Manhattan, the modern-day bar for the ladies who lunch. Exposed necks. The waiters from long ago at the corner by the window. The ladies who lunch are right out of *The Bachelor of the Veil*, as Tim Walle described them having “stared themselves to perfection.” They are “X-ray ladies,” so this that if they stand against the light you can see through them.

The menu for a “Baby Caesar” shows of meat that resemble a piece of stiffened goose. Everyone in the restaurant kisses everyone else, which is in any way they don't kiss each other but smack the air a nonsensical away from contact, for fear of smooching. It looks like the mating dance of bluebellied terns.

In update to insects, proprietors are introduced with applications from yuppie six bars patronized by Wall Street in the downtown. Trading new bars and their kids, as they say, for T-burns and chair lifts. At one sit-in, normally 30 per cent of job applicants are over 30. The view 70 per cent. At the end of the weekend, Tim owed 10 bucks.



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